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OF
THE HONOURABLE
EAST INDIA COMPANY

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A SERIES OF FIFTY PLATES
BY
WILLIAM GRIGGS

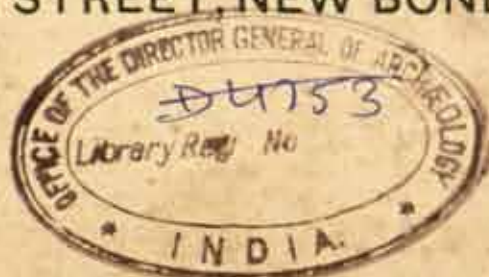
WITH LETTERPRESS
BY
SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD

AND
WILLIAM FOSTER



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TO
THE WORSHIPFUL MEMORY OF
THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

FOR NOW THE SONS OF OINEUS ARE NO MORE ;
THE GLORIES OF THE MIGHTY RACE ARE FLED,
OINEUS HIMSELF, AND MELEAGER, DEAD.

ILIAD, ii. 641-2.



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INTRODUCTION.

Attention has, in recent years, been repeatedly called to the old records of the late Honourable East India Company, and was especially stimulated by the suggestive lecture on them read before the Society of Arts, with Lord Harris in the Chair, on the 17th of January, 1890, by the late Mr. F. C. Danvers, at that time "Registrar and Superintendent of Records" at the India Office. It was the general interest aroused in the subject of Mr. Danvers' paper that indeed determined Mr. Griggs to include in future numbers of the *Journal of Indian Art* occasional photographic reproductions of the more important charters and despatches and other remains of the great Company; and to make a good beginning with them he gave up the whole of the number for July, 1890, of the *Journal* [a double number] to the first series of such illustrations. Further illustrations were given in subsequent numbers of the *Journal*; and the whole have now been reproduced in the present Memorial Volume.

The illustrations for the most part explain themselves, but a few words of commentary on them may prove useful to some of the readers of these pages, more particularly those living in India.

The "London East India Company," commonly called the "Old Company," was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, the 31st December, 1600, under the title of *The Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies*. The *English Company trading to the East Indies*, commonly called the "New Company," was incorporated by William III., the 5th September, 1698; and these two Companies were finally amalgamated, in 1708-9, under the style of *The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies*, commonly known as the Honourable East India Company. Two other East India Companies had previously to the incorporation of the *United Company* been merged in the "Old Company." Besides the charter of incorporation of Elizabeth, seven subsequent charters, confirming the charter of Elizabeth, were granted to the "Old Company." These eight charters are:—1st, the aforesaid charter of Elizabeth, dated 31 December, 1600, of which only a copy is known at the India Office; 2nd, the charter of James I., dated 31 May, 1609, of which only a copy is known at the India Office; 3rd, the charter of Oliver Cromwell, granted in 1657, of which neither original nor copy is known at the India Office; 4th, the charter of Charles II., dated 3 April, 1661, of which the original is in the India Office; 5th, the charter of Charles II., dated 5 October, 1676, not only confirming the former charters, but authorising the Company to coin money at Bombay, which exists in the India Office and is here reproduced; 6th, the charter of Charles II., dated 9 August, 1683, of which nothing is known at the India Office; 7th, the charter of William III. and Mary, dated 7 October, 1693, of which the original exists at the India Office, and is here reproduced; and 8th, the charter, or rather series of charters, grants, and other documents, of Queen Anne, under which the amalgamation of the "Old" and "New" Companies was effected; the most notable of these being the grants of the 22nd of July, 1702, and 7th of May, 1709. Nearly all of them exist in original at the India Office.

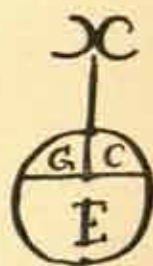
It will be seen that of these eight charters only the 4th, 5th and 7th, and the various documents included under the 8th, remain at the India Office. The 1st and 2nd exist only as copies; and of the 3rd and 6th nothing is known. Of the minor charters a large number are to be found at the India Office, but many also are lost to sight. It is not likely that any of the missing muniments have actually perished. *They are assuredly lying hid somewhere, and a systematic search should now be made for them*; and above all for the CHARTER OF ELIZABETH.

Plate 1. In the absence of the last named charter, the impression of the "Old Company's" Arms, reproduced in Plate 1, must be regarded as one of the earliest relics of the Company. The original Grant of these arms has not yet been discovered, but the entry of the grant is recorded at Heralds' College, and in the first volume of the "Court Minutes"¹ of the Company, under date of the 1st of May, 1601, occurs the minute:—"A warraunt is geiven to Alderman Hollyday, Threasurer, to paye to the Kynge of Heraldes the some of Twentie Merkes for assigninge a Armes to the Companie by the vertue of his office." Under date of the 12th of February, 1601, is the minute:—"Warraunt is geaven to Alderman Holliday, treasurer, to pay unto Mr. [afterward Sir] William Segar, one of the Herraults [he was later on Garter King at Arms] for the writing of her majesties Letters to the Kinges of the East Indies, the sum of thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eightpence, and twelvecpence for a box bought by him to putt in the same letters." These letters were doubtless blazoned with the Company's arms as well as the Queen's, and there is every probability of some of them yet being unearthed in India. The strangest and most delightful discoveries in this way are to be made there. I once bought a copy of D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* out of a Parsee's godown in Bombay. It was exquisitely bound, and on taking it home and undoing the rags in which it was wrapped, it opened where a pair of gold-mounted spectacles, and a visiting card of Sir Elijah Impey's, had been fast concealed in it for over half a century. Some one in Calcutta had been reading D'Herbelot through gold-rimmed glasses, when Impey's card was sent in to him, and before running out to receive his visitor, he had placed the spectacles and the card in the book, that in the hurry of the moment was closed on them, never to be opened again until it reached my hands. Again, on becoming Secretary to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I went up under the roof of the Town Hall, and began kicking my heels among the heaps of rubbish lying all about the place, just on the chance of stumbling on some "hid treasure," when presently I struck, "thud," against a large vellum quarto. It turned out to be an illuminated MS. of Dante's poems, with a miniature of the poet, all painted within thirty years of his death; and certified by the Secretary of the Ambrosian Library at Milan to be one of the noblest MSS. of Dante extant. There was no record of the volume to be traced anywhere, until after going back for years in the minute books of my predecessors I found that it had been presented to the Society in, if I remember rightly, 1827, by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. It is always well worth looking into Parsee godowns, particularly in out-of-the way up-country stations, in India, for you are sure to be rewarded for your trouble in one way or other, and two or three, at least, of these letters of Queen Elizabeth are awaiting their restitution to light somewhere there.

Under date, the 12th of January, 1601,² the Company ordered their "Common Seale." On the 2nd idem they ordered "12 Streemers, 2 fflagges, and one Auncient"; and on the 31st of the previous December, agreed that the goods shipped by the Company in their first voyage should bear the trade mark here shewn.

Plate 2 is an example of the minor charters granted to the Company; being a Special Licence from James I., of 22nd May, 1609, for the sale by the Company of spices ungarbled, in whole packs, to other merchants, to be by them transported in such whole packs.

Plate 3 is one of the most interesting in the whole collection. It is a facsimile of the sketch map of the island and harbour of Bombay, appended to the account of the bombardment of Bombay by the Dutch and English in 1626, to be found in the journal of David Davies of the *Discovery*. This account, together with that of John Vian, also of the *Discovery*, and of Andrew Warden of the *William*, is given at length at pp. 214-15 of the reprint of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*.³ These accounts and this sketch map were then brought to light, after lying in



¹ Printed from the original MS., by Henry Stevens of Vermont, in his volume entitled *The Dawn of British Trade in the East Indies*, London, Henry Stevens and Son, 1886.

² But still, according to the usage of the time, included in the *Court Minutes* under the year 1600.

³ The first edition was published by the India Office in 1879.

oblivion for over two hundred and fifty years; and they antedate the direct connection of the English with Bombay by thirty-five years.

Plate 4 is a Licence from Charles I., of 21st November, 1631, for the export by the Company of £30,000 in foreign gold.

Plate 5 is the Warrant of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, of 7th August, 1655, for the payment to the Company of £50,000, borrowed out of the amount received from the Dutch under the Treaty of Westminster.

Plate 6 represents the impression of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth of England, of the year 1651. The Seal bears on one side the inscription: "The Great Seal of England," and on the other: "In the Third Year of Freedome by God's Blessing Restored, 1651."

Plate 7 is a holograph endorsement, by Oliver Cromwell, dated 6th November, 1657, of a petition from the Company that "some good Ship and Frigott" should be sent to "St. Hellena Island" to protect the Company's merchant ships, assembled there from "remote parts," against the Spaniards, "out of Biskay," seeking to interrupt "our East India Trade."

Plates 8 and 9 are of the Charter of Charles II., dated 3rd April, 1661, referred to above. It will be observed that the sixth and last sheet [Plate 9] bears a representation of the Company's shield; and that the first sheet [Plate 8] has been basely and ruthlessly despoiled of its vignette portrait of Charles II. Those capable of such shameless larcenies are the meanest and most contemptible of thieves; and their surreptitious depredations are to be traced all through the three centuries covered by the India Office Records. We live in evil days, when crime is crowned and guilt is glory, but no amount of success in his sordid pursuit will ever give, not even, it is to be hoped, among party politicians, an honourable distinction to the defacer and pilferer of national historical documents like these of the "Old" East India Company.¹

Plate 10 is a facsimile of the first sheet of the Letters Patent of Charles II., dated 27th March, 1668, granting the Port and Island of Bombay to the Company.

Plate 11 is a reduced facsimile of the regrant, dated 16th December, 1673, of the island of "Sancta Helena" to the Company by Charles II. The Dutch, who first occupied the island in 1633, abandoned it in 1652, when it was taken possession of by the English. By the Charter granted to the Company by Charles II., dated 3rd April, 1661, they were allowed to plant, fortify, and garrison St. Helena. The Dutch expelled them from it in 1673, but we immediately retook it, and by the present Charter of Charles II., dated 16th December, 1673, ceded it to the Company, by whom it was held until 1834, when the island was re-invested in the Crown.

Plate 12 is a facsimile of the Charter of Charles II., dated 5th October, 1676, enumerated above as the 5th charter of the Company, authorising them to coin money, in "Rupees, pices, and Budgrooks," at Bombay.

Plates 13 and 14 are a facsimile of the Charter of William III. and Mary, dated 7th October, 1693, confirming the former charters of incorporation; and is enumerated above as the Company's seventh charter.

Plate 15 is a reduced facsimile of the first page of the first of the two folio volumes, containing the autograph subscriptions to the Fund of Two Millions raised by the "New Company" in 1698.

Plate 16 is a facsimile of the Charter of William III., dated 5th September, 1698, incorporating the "New" or *English Company trading to the East Indies*.

Plate 17 is a facsimile of the Grant of Arms, dated 13th October, 1698, to the "New Company"; and these were the arms used by the *United Company* or "Honourable East India Company." It was under the old arms, with sea lions for supporters, that the "London Company" opened up the navigation and commerce of the Indian Ocean to English enterprise; and it was under the new arms of the "English Company," with land lions for supporters, that the *United Company* effected the conquest of British India. The change of arms, and particularly of the predominant colours from blue to red, marks the transformation of the Company from a mercantile corporation into a military power.

¹ "Get on, get humour, get honest," is an ancient proverb "on 'Change," here and every elsewhere.

Plate 18 is a facsimile reproduction of the Letter from Fort St. David, dated 17th October, 1746, announcing the capture of Madras on the 10th of September previous by the French under La Bourdonnais. The full details of the surrender and ransom of Madras are given, from hitherto unpublished documents, at pp. 242-8 of the reprint of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*.

Plate 19 is a facsimile of the Treaty of Allahabad, dated 16th August, 1765, by which Shah Alam II. made over to the Company the *diwani* of the *subahs* of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. The treaty is written out in English and Persian, and bears the signatures of Clive, General John Carnac, and Shuja ud Daula, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh. The original is preserved in the India Office Library.

Plates 20 and 21 are facsimile reproductions of the Resolutions of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, dated 24th April, 1799, thanking "the Right Honourable Rear Admiral Lord Nelson" for his "ever memorable Victory obtained over the French near the mouth of the Nile, on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of August, 1798," and presenting him with £10,000; and Nelson's reply to the same, dated from the *Foudroyant*, Bay of Naples, 3rd July, 1799.

Plate 22 is a facsimile reproduction of the Grant of Arms, dated 21st day of March, 1807, to the East India College at Haileybury.

The first entry in the first volume of the "Court Minutes"¹ of the East India Company is that of "the names of such persones as haue writtin with there owne handes to venter in the pretended voiage to the Easte Indias (the whiche it maie please the Lorde to prosper) and the somes that they will adventure, the xxii September 1599." But the place where these subscriptions were received is not given. It was probably the Founders' Hall, but it may possibly have been the house of Sir Stephen Soame, Lord Mayor of London, or of Sir John Hart, or of Sir John Spencer. Nor is the place of the first meeting of the "Committies or the directors," held the 25th September, 1599, recorded. But the second meeting of the "Committies," on the 4th October following, was holden at the house of Mr. Alderman Godderd, wherever that may have been. The great "Assemblee" of the subscribers, on the 23rd of September, 1600, is expressly recorded to have been held in "the Founders Hall," then situated in Founders Court, Lothbury, but afterward transferred to St. Swithin's Lane, where in 1792 it acquired, on account of the revolutionary speeches delivered there, the nickname of "the Cauldron of Sedition." A General Court of the subscribers was also held there on the 30th of October in the same year, previous to the incorporation of the Company on the 31st of December following; and in the minutes of the "Generall Courte holden the xxviiiith of July, 1602" occurs the entry: "Warrant is geaven to Mr. Chamblen thre^e to pay unto John Bowen six quarters rent for the Companies meetings at the Founders Hall, to be ended at Michās next, the somme of VI^{li}. [£6]." It is evident that the Company used the Founders Hall for their meetings continuously from March, 1601, to September, 1602. At some time also the Company is said to have transacted its business at the Nag's Head Inn, opposite Bishopsgate Church; and Mr. Stephen Gray, in an interesting article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, on Job Charnock, writes quite glibly of "the worthy gentlemen at the Nag's Head Inn," meaning the Directors of the East India Company during the latter part of the 17th century. But I am unaware of any adequate authority for associating the Company in this positive way with that pleasant old hostelry. From 1604 to 1621 the Company certainly did its business in the house of its first Governour, Sir Thomas Smith [Smythe of the "Court Minutes"], in Philpot Lane; and from 1621 to 1638 its regular offices were in Crosby House [Plate 23], Bishopsgate Street, then belonging to Lord Northampton, who had inherited it in 1609 from his father-in-law, Sir John Spencer. In 1638 the Company moved to the house of Sir Christopher Clitheroe, at that time Governour of the Company, in Leadenhall Street, and in 1648 to the house adjoining it. There is in the "Court Minutes" for 1643 an entry to the effect that the Company paid Lady Clitheroe £150 for the rent of her house in that year; but objected to pay her more than £100 a year thereafter; and that her ladyship agreed to this abatement. In an indenture of the conveyance

¹ See Stevens's *Dawn of British Trade in the East Indies*, above quoted.

of the Dead Stock of the Company, dated the 22nd of July, 1702, we find that Sir William Craven of Kensington, the father of the 2nd Baron Craven, had leased to the Company his large house in Leadenhall Street at £100 a year. This was the house taken by the Company in 1648. In 1726 they rebuilt their premises; and the front was entirely reconstructed, by Jupp, in 1796, when it was extended to Lime Street.

The Great Fire of London, which in 1666 destroyed all Cornhill from Pope's Head Alley to St. Michael's Alley, scarcely touched Leadenhall Street; and the maps of London published immediately after the Great Fire place the East India House in Leadenhall Street exactly on the site of the building here figured.

Not long after the abolition of the Company, 1st of November 1858, the "Old India House," as it has since been called, was abandoned, and put up for sale in 1861 [see *Times*, 25th October, 1861, advertisement of Messrs. Pullen, Horne, and Eversfield, Auctioneers], and pulled down in 1861-2 [see *Times* of 15th November, 1861], when the present "East India Chambers" were constructed on its site. At the same time the archives of the East India Company were temporarily transferred to the buildings in Victoria Street now known as the Westminster Palace Hotel [see *Times*, 18th February, 1860], and finally lodged in the present India Office, the south-western block of the imposing mass of administrative offices lying between Parliament Street and St. James' Park, south of "the Parade." The whole group of these buildings, consisting of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Home Office, and India Office, are of stone, and were designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, under the concussion of Lord Palmerston, in the Palladian style. Unfortunately, the decoration of the interior of the India Office was left in the hands of Sir Digby Wyatt, and in the quadrangle, and the ceiling over the north-western staircase, runs riot in the most ignorant and degraded excesses of pig-tail Roccoco. A great opportunity was lost in entrusting the decoration of the quadrangle to Sir Digby Wyatt, who, although a most learned and tasteful designer of conventional ornament, knew nothing, in a scholarly way, of its application to architecture. But the interior decoration of the India Office has all been honestly done, and in this respect contrasts favourably with the ostentatious and scamped decoration of the Foreign Office; while its site, conjunctive with that of the Foreign Office, compensates in some measure for the solecisms in its decorative details. The prospect towards the west is at all seasons of the year one of perfect sylvan beauty: to the south are Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, presenting the most imposing continuity of architectural masterpieces in the world; while looking eastward is to be obtained the noblest view in all London, except that commanded from the tower of the National Liberal Club, of St. Paul's Cathedral. Then the historical associations of the site, close to Tothill Fields and Ermine Street, and occupying the traditionary scene of Sir Lancelot's mythical joust in defence of Queen Guinevere, and lying beside the quiet walk between the clubs in Pall Mall and the Houses of Parliament, paced daily, for half the year, by the greatest personages in the contemporary political life of England,—all these associations, past and present, give a special interest to the India Office. With the contiguous offices, it is moreover a memorial of the fateful victory gained by Lord Palmerston over his Gothic opponents in the great "Battle of the Styles" that raged so fiercely in 1864. Credit is due also to Sir Digby Wyatt for putting up several of the mantel-pieces of the "Old India House" at the India Office; and still more, I think, for the two mantel-pieces bought by him out of some old houses then being demolished, and placed, one in the room occupied by the present Assistant Under Secretary of State, and the other in the room of the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State. They are perfect examples of the Adam style of decorative art applied to the minor architectural features of a house.

I will now proceed with the detailed enumeration of the plates illustrative of the Old East India Houses.

Plate 23 contains two illustrations; the upper of Crosby House at the time when it was used by the Company; and the lower one, labelled:—"The Old East India House in Leadenhall Street, 1648 to 1726." The authorities for the label are an old Dutch painting that belonged to Mr. J. B. Pulham, formerly of the Treasury of the East India Company, and a printed sheet in the British

Museum, advertising the business of "William Overley Joyner at the sign of the East India House in Leadenhall Street." The representation of the East India House given in this advertisement [Plate 24] is identical in every essential detail with that taken from Mr. Pulham's drawing, except as regards the build and rig of the ships painted on the sign-board topping the house, and the costume of the figure of a man standing astride on the sign-board. The ships in Overley's advertisement are of later date than in Pulham's copy of the old Dutch painting. They had evidently been repainted. And in Overley's advertisement the figure standing on the top of the sign-board is dressed in the fashion of the later Stuarts and early Hanoverians, and not in that of the earlier Stuarts, as in Pulham's engraving. Looking also into minutiae, the Royal Arms suspended over the "Old Company's" arms differ in the two engravings; the former representing the Royal Arms of England under the Stuarts [1603-1714], and the latter under the first three Hanoverians, George I., George II., and George III. [1714-1801]; that is, in the latter are quartered with the arms of England "impaling Scotland," and of Ireland, the arms, not only of France, but of Hanover. Overley's advertisement cannot therefore be earlier than 1714, and as the Company put up their new frontage in 1726, it is not, probably, later than the latter date. The Dutch drawing cannot be later than 1714, and from the costume of the men and women walking on the pavement, it probably reproduces the East India House as existing between 1638 and 1685.

Plate 25 is a view of the East India House in Leadenhall Street, as refaced, "after the Ionicke guise," in 1726, reproduced by Mr. W. Griggs from a coloured drawing by T. Malton, dated March, 1800, hanging in the room of the Financial Secretary at the India Office. The view is from Cornhill, near where it is divided from Leadenhall Street by Gracechurch Street on the right hand, and Bishopsgate Street on the left. The opening into Lime Street is seen on the right, behind the coach and four; and just opposite is the opening into St. Mary Axe, where the church of St. Andrew-under-Shaft [*i.e.*, under the old May-pole] is hid by the tall houses in the left-hand corner of the drawing. One of these is a shoemaker's, and the other a stationer's, and the opening, under the lamp, projecting from the latter, is probably the entrance of the passage that led to the old King's Arms Inn; a suggestion receiving confirmation from the brewer's waggon, with its three disengaged horses, standing at ease before the passage. The carved escutcheons over the three ground floor windows of the East India House are very indistinct, but seem to represent the arms of the "Old Company" over the middle window, and of the *United Company* over each side one. This is the India House described by "Don Manuel Gonzales," whose travels in England about 1730 were published, from the original MS. in the Harleian Collection, by John Pinkerton [*Collection of Voyages*] in 1808. The public buildings Gonzales enumerates in Lime Street Ward are the Leadenhall, the East India House, the Pewterers' Hall, and the Fletchers'; and of the second he writes:—"On the south side of Leadenhall Street stands the East India House, lately magnificently rebuilt, with a stone front to the street; but the front being very narrow does not make an appearance answerable to the grandeur of the house within, which stands upon a great deal of ground, the offices and storehouses admirably well contrived, and the public hall, and the Committee room, scarcely inferior to anything of the like nature in the city." There was another "India House" in Leadenhall St. during the first two decades of the 18th century, the shop at the sign of the "Two Fans," kept by Peter Motteux [*cf.* Dryden, *Ep.* xii.] for the sale (as we learn from the charming letter in the *Spectator* of 30th Jan. 1712, written in his name by Steele) of choice and cheap "China and Japan wares, tea, fans, muslins, pictures, arrack, and other Indian goods. . . . rich brocades, Dutch atlases [satins, in Arabic *atlas*, literally "bare," "bald," *i.e.* "smooth"] with gold and silver, or without . . . fine Flanders lace, linens, and pictures at the best hand." He adds "Indian silks were formerly a great branch of our trade, and since we must not sell them we must seek amends by dealing in others." The allusion is to the Act 11 and 12 of William III., chapter 10, whereby it was ordered:—"That from Michaelmas, 1701, all wrought-silks, Bengals, and stuffs mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East Indies, should be locked up in warehouses till re-exported, so that none of the said goods should be worn or used, in

either apparel or furniture, in England, on forfeiture thereof, and also of £200 penalty on the persons having or selling them." Similar acts were passed against the importation of Indian calicoes; and it was in this way that the manufacture of silk, which grew to large proportions in the 18th century, and of cotton goods, was established in the United Kingdom.

Plate 26 is a view of the East India House, as rebuilt by Jupp in 1796, taken from the corner of St. Mary Axe, and looking down toward Cornhill, marked in the distance by the paltry leaden cupola and spire of St. Peter's, and the four pinnacled stone towers of St. Michael's. In the right hand corner is the shop of Bull, the jeweller. The original from which Mr. Griggs' photo-chromolithograph has been reproduced is another of the coloured drawings by Malton, hanging, like the one already mentioned, in a room at the India Office. I think Mr. Griggs is to be warmly congratulated on the success of these two plates.

The Directors of the Honourable East India Company held their last meeting at the "Old India House," 10th August, 1858; and the last General Court of the Company was held there on the 30th of the same month. The first meeting of the new Indian Council was held there on the 3rd, and the first meetings of the Finance and Revenue and Judicial Committees of the Council on the 7th of September in the same year [see *Times* of issues following the above dates].

Plates 27-30 show the site, with adjacent localities, and the various floors of the "Old India House" in 1860. It covered nearly an acre and a half.

Plates 31-34 are of the four mantel-pieces removed from the "Old India House" to the India Office. The first [31], taken from the Directors' Court Room, is in the Council Room, so called, at the India Office; and the second [32], from the Library in Leadenhall Street, is in the new Revenue Committee Room, so called; and the third and fourth [33, 34], formerly in the Museum of the East India House, are now in the Finance Committee Room, so called. These "Rooms," so called, are roomy enough, but they are not rooms in any architectural sense, for they are each enclosed on the side plumb with the west and north sides of the India Office quadrangle with sliding glass shutters only. They are, in fact, merely glazed sections of the western and northern first floor corridors, and a ludicrous example of bathos in architecture; for which, however, not Sir Gilbert Scott, but Sir Digby Wyatt alone is responsible.

Plate 35 shows the south-east corner of the India Office quadrangle. The whole quadrangle is utterly ruined by the excess of adventitious ornamentation with which it has been so heavily overlaid.

Plate 36 presents an exterior view of the India Office, taken from St. James's Park. The rounded left hand corner of the building abuts on the Parade Ground of the Horse Guards; and by the right hand corner are the steps leading up to Charles Street, from which the Office is entered. The Park front of the Office is massive and dignified, and when viewed from a more distant point than that from which Mr. Griggs has taken his photograph, as from the bridge across the ornamental water, where the Foreign Office, with the two neighbouring towers of the Foreign Office and India Office, come into sight, the combined buildings are found to be characterised by a stateliness, and, in certain conditions of atmosphere, even a grandeur, that at once satisfies a not too exacting taste, and cheers patriotism. Yet the broad and simple treatment of the whole exterior of these buildings is marred, as regards the India Office especially, when standing so close to it, as in this photograph, by the poverty, alike in material and execution, of the statues that occupy, but do not decorate, the niches and interfenestral spaces of the upper stories. Also the unbroken sky line in Charles Street of the continuous India and Home Offices from the Park to Parliament Street is an unhappy defect. Coming out of the India Office door near the steps leading down into St. James's Park, I some years ago fell in with a string of workmen returning after dinner from the Park to Parliament Street. One of them asked aloud: "And what's this building?" To which another, looking back over his shoulder, replied: "Why, the whole — length of this — building is that — India Office, which we have built with our — taxes, for those — niggers out there." The good fellow was all wrong as to this country ever having been taxed a farthing for the building, and as to "those — niggers out there"; but he was quite right

in his artistic appreciation of the great dereliction in the composition of the Charles Street front of the India Office, and the shocking expression he gave to it,—the British workman having but the one explosive adjective indicated for his universal use,—found a sympathetic echo in my breast. The building does present, in its unrelieved perspective, a portentous and really lamentable length of long-drawn-out unlingering lines, and the only apt adjective to cast at it is this hæmatothermal epithet.

Of Plates 37 to 50, the first five and the last but one are reproduced from the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1891, April, 1891, January, 1899, and January, 1905; the rest are entirely new. As a description of each plate is given with them, a few desultory notes on them are all that are here required.

No. 37 is the facsimile of a letter from "Eliza," Mrs. Daniel Draper, dated from Tellicherry, "April, 1769"; interesting, not only because of the writer of it, but for the homely light it throws on the inexplicable meshwork of providences, as they must have appeared to the bystanders, that were then slowly working out, without any predetermination on our own part, the political primacy of England over Southern India. Colonel Francis Grant, who presented the letter to the British Museum, is now dead, and the late Mr. Edward Daniell, the erudite bibliopole, of whom he bought it, has been succeeded by his son, Mr. Walter Vernon Daniell, in the business the family have carried on from 1829 in Mortimer Street; where, at what was then No. 9, Johnson sat for his bust to the niggardly Nollekens, the sculptor of so many uninspired Venuses.

Nos. 38 and 39 are reproductions of two paintings by Henry Matthews of the Presentation and Consecration of the Colours of the Second and Third Regiments, respectively, of "the Honourable East India Company's Royal East India Volunteers." There were three of these regiments recruited from the servants of the Company in Southwark and Poplar, and maintained by the Company in the highest efficiency during the twenty years that this country was threatened with invasion by Buonaparte; an act of dutiful citizenship on the part of the Company and its servants that should fill English statesmen with remorse for the spoliation of the Company consummated just fifty years ago, in inevitable deference, under our system of counting, instead of weighing, votes, to the demagogic madness of the moment.

No. 40 is a photo-lithograph of the boss carved with the arms of the "Old Company" in the centre of the nave of the chapel attached to "the Honourable East India Company's Alms Houses at Poplar or Blackwall," or "Poplar Hospital," as these "Alms Houses" were commonly called, so long as they existed; for they also were swept away with the rest of the assets of the Company in East and South London in the course of the liquidation of its affairs following on the cataclysm of 1858.

No. 41 is the seemly semblance of "the Old Clock" that from 1871 to 1903 hung on the landing at the top of the India Office, between the rooms occupied by the Office Library and those of the "Special Assistant."

In my regard, these two objects are the two most cherishable of all the India Office relics of the Honourable East India Company represented in this volume. "The Old Clock" is not to be compared as "a thing of prize" with the pedestalled clock [and companion wind-dial], by Ainsworth Thwaites [the maker of the Horse Guards' clock, 1740-80], in the Finance Committee Room of the India Office [Plate 34]; or with the large bracket clock, by Windmills and Elkins, in the Revenue Committee Room. This hanging clock is a cross between the clock by Thomas Tompion [1638-1713] at the Admiralty and the beggarly "Act of Parliament Clock," of 1798, at Windsor Castle, and of no form nor comeliness that one should desire it; while the carved boss in the chapel at Poplar, now the Parish Church of St. Matthias, is convincingly adapted to its crowning position and purpose, and in design and workmanship beautiful exceedingly. But a clock, like a coal fire, is almost human in its goodfellowly companionship, and inspiring conversability, re-echoing in its going all the music and the mirth of time, and stopped, focussing in its silent face the whole dread enigma of death and eternity; and habituated to the researchful life of a sequestered student, after a daily "Welcome" and "God-speed," for over thirty years, from this well-noted clock, I felt

the final leave-taking of it, like parting from some kindest of friends. Indeed, Mr. William Griggs illustrated it that I might always have with me this express similitude of my old and faithful India Office Gossip. In the other scale,—it is obvious that nothing but a full-sized oil painting, with the brush in the hand of a Millais, could do full justice to the carved boss in the church of St. Matthias, to such mobility is its whole surface laboured, every modulation of its modelling being struck off as by a single strong and sure stroke of the chisel and maul. Whenever executed, in design and workmanship it is of the traditional types of the Tudor period, and just such an architectural embellishment,—antefix, bossage, crancelin, or crocket,—as one might hope to pick up out of the ruins of the Staple House of the Tudor Mayors of Calais, or the Stuart Staple at Vere in the Netherlands. The Directors of "London Exhibitions, Limited," Mr. Cremieu Javal, Mr. Harold Hartley, Mr. Herman Hart, and Mr. Imre Kiralfy, in return for some little services I rendered them in connection with the "Indian Empire Exhibition," held at Earl's Court in 1895, had several plaster casts taken from the Poplar boss, and of these I presented one to the India Office. But I trust that the Office will never lose sight of the original boss, although it be now in the tutelage of St. Matthias; for it is a most precious survival of the English stone craftsman's art of the 17th or early 18th century; and there is nothing approaching it in the way of an architectural trove at the India Office, except the marble chimney-pieces, transferred thither from the old India House, ornamented, in the manner of the brothers Adam,

"After th'lonicke, Atticke, Doricke guise."

The simple honeysuckle decoration of the chimney-piece in the room of the Assistant Under Secretary of State, occupied in my time consecutively by Sir Henry Yule and Sir Horace Walpole, is of indescribable subtlety of grace and charm; and though but a fragment of "applied art" of the most familiar utility, it always seemed to me to fulfil Ruskin's definition of "fine art" as "that in which the hand, the head and the *heart* go together."

Would that our statesmen ever remembered that their work, as Lorenz Oken long ago insisted, was also of the genus, and the highest grade of the genus, of fine art; that they might never have been betrayed into the thoughtless error of the abolition of "the Poplar Hospital" in 1866, a grievous, and, as it will always be regarded, a heartless aggravation of the innumerable injurious consequences to the humble population of East and South London involved in the reckless wrecking of the Honourable East India Company in 1858. But—

"... the full stomach it ever faileth
To understand what the hungry aileth."

No. 42, a reproduction of a coloured engraving by Rudolph Ackermann of the Honourable East India Company's Sale Room [1808], and Nos. 43 and 44, reproductions from water-colour drawings of a Meeting of the Court of Proprietors, and of the Directors' Court Room, respectively, by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, an esteemed painter of the streets and conspicuous buildings of London, between 1825 and 1840, call for no remark here, beyond reawakening memory to the humiliating fact that the painted wood-carving of the arms of the Honourable East India Company, represented in Plate 44, as hanging on the wall behind the Chairman's Seat, was, on the India House being taken possession of by the Crown, sold by public auction, when, most happily, it was bought by Mr. James Forbes, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service [Haileybury], who, on receiving his copy of the *Journal of Indian Art* for July, 1890, presented the carving to the Secretary of State for India, by whom it was accorded a high place of honour in the South Corridor of the India Office in Charles Street, Westminster.

No. 45 is an illustration of the actual Seat of the Chairman of the Company represented in Plate 44, and now, in the unbroken continuity of its use, the Seat of the Secretary of State for India when sitting in Council. It is an item, of the highest interest in its associations, but of the least value in artistic quality, of a great treasure of furniture by Thomas Chippendale and Thomas Sheraton, that, years before the annexation of India to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, had been for the most part put away, out of sight and out of memory, in the India House, Leadenhall Street, to make room for the more solid mahogany chairs and tables of the vogue of "the Regency" of George IV.,—which I remember to have been in use at the India

House from 1839 to 1854: and I remember also that at the earlier date Chippendale and Sheraton furniture had already fallen into extraordinary neglect in England. My great-grandfather [to whom I refer in my letterpress on Plate 50, "A China Dish"] was a personal friend of Thomas Chippendale, who, on a drawing room and card room suite of furniture, made to the order of King George III., being unfavourably criticised by His Majesty, at once, in high dudgeon, placed it all on board a barge, and sent it round to Plymouth as a present to my great-grandfather. I came to know the furniture intimately in the house of his eldest son, Chaplain to the Royal Naval Hospital, Stonehouse, a great connoisseur of all such *pièces de jouissance*. The two suites were of inlaid satinwood, the cane-work of the chairs and sofas being gilded; and perfect in their simple elegance of form, and strength and delicacy of construction; but no one in "the forties" of last century paid any particular attention to them, and the inheritor of them sold the lot to Messrs. William Whiteley, Ltd., for £80! The price fixed with George III. was £300. I came upon the India Office treasure quite accidentally, through observing that the door-keeper of the Office "Stores" in the Belvedere Road, across the Thames, was sitting on a broken-down Chippendale chair. This led me gradually to the top floor of the "Stores," which was found piled up with Chippendale and Sheraton chairs. They were all re-covered in "sealing-wax red" leather, and distributed throughout the new India Office in Westminster. It must be said that they cry out to be seated by our great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers for the full appreciation of their exquisite harmony of proportion and faultless finesse of flowing line. It is pitiful to view one's modernised self in them!

Nos. 46 and 47 are mementoes of Charles Lamb, who down to the time of the late Sir Thomas Seecombe's death was a living name at the India Office. When William Thomas Thornton, author of *The Modern Manichean*,¹ etc., and other old servants of the Company migrated from the "India House" to the India Office, they furnished their new rooms with the actual Chippendale or Sheraton bookcases and tables, and the Regency chairs used by Charles Lamb and James Mill in Leadenhall Street; and these bookcases and tables, I believe, still remain in the rooms of the Judicial Secretary and Public Works Secretary at the India Office.

No. 48 is an illustration of the Ballot Box of the Worshipful Company of the Saddlers of London, painted over with the armorial bearings of King James I. and the "Old [East India] Company," and bearing the date 1619. It is of English design in its frame, but the decorations are after the style of the Indian draughtsmanship of Cashmere; and obviously the Box passed from the East India Company, probably within the first decade of the 18th century, by some private conveyance to the Saddlers' Company: and it is fortunate indeed that this most interesting relic of the "Old Company," and invaluable as such, is in the hands of gentlemen who will piously safeguard it as long as the Saddlers' Company exists, and London itself endures as the city of all European cities that, in unassailable unity with itself, has upheld for a past thousand years the pre-eminence of its municipal administration and national spirit.

No. 49 is the masterful counterfeit of another auspicious conveyance, and the most glorious of all, from the "Old [East India] Company," in this instance, to "the Worshipful Company of the Girdlers of London." It is a magnificent example of a Persian pile carpet of the 17th century: and the introduction into its gaily blooming "field" of two cotton bales is an *in terrorem* demonstration of the untoward results of our insuppressible English instinct for intermeddling in the decorative designs of objects of Oriental Art, and corrupting and degrading them to the pattern of our own incoherent and inane artistic ideals.

No. 50 represents "a China dish"; another, and more pernicious, because more deceptive, example of the evil influence of this egotistical spirit of ours on the industrial arts of the East. A great deal of this sort of spurious Chinese pottery, including "Jordans," were to be seen seventy years ago in the windows of Mr. Osborn at Exeter, and at one of the burlesque elections of Ide,—just out of Exeter, westward, over St. Thomas' Bridge, to where the rising right bank of the Exe suddenly descends into the very heart of apple-blossoming and cyder-flowing Devonshire,—he used to be represented under the nick-name of "Sir Osborn China"—[other tradesmen conspicuous

¹ I possessed two copies of this booklet, both conveyed from me by wistful biblioclepts, and this was the title of them, as I remember it, but others give it as *Modern Manichæism*.

in the local politics being dubbed for the day "Sir — Tallowman," "Sir — Leatherem," and so forth]—with one of his own "jumumblers" on his head for a "cap of (in)dignity." The "Cookworthy" mentioned in my remarks on Plate 50 was, of course, not the William Cookworthy who discovered "China-stone" and "China-clay" at St. Austell, Cornwall, and founded a porcelain factory at Plymouth. He died in 1780; and some years before this, his business, with the trade use of his name, had passed into the control of others who better knew his trade, if not his art.

I have now completed the full tale, a round 50, of the illustrations of the relics of the Honourable East India Company reproduced by Mr. William Griggs; he has not been bereaved of a single one of them. Let no one, however, imagine that they exhaust the list of these relics deserving of illustration, for their number is practically inexhaustible; and to all fain to follow in the steps of Mr. Griggs, and yet afraid, I would say, in the words of "the bold Ajaces" [*Iliad*, xii.]:—"O Argives, here is work enough for you all!—whether of inferior, mediocre, or superior capacity,—if you but obey the generous impulse, each to take his appropriate part in it."

In particular, I would express the wish that some one of literary ability may be induced by what I have here written to enquire into and elucidate quite another class of reminiscences of the Honourable East India Company, and of far wider interest, than those I have dealt with in this volume, and in so tentative a form. I refer to the tradition that yet survived in 1890 among the pensioners of the Company, and the older members of the India Office, of the writers of distinction, and some of genius, connected with the old "India House." The name of John Hoole [1727-1803], the translator of *Jerusalem Delivered*, whose version of *Orlando Furioso* was dedicated to Harry Verelst, Governour of Bengal, 1767-9, was remembered by Sir Thomas Seccombe as being still mentioned with personal regard when the latter joined the old "India House" about 1829. There was also a strong memory of Charles Lamb [1775-1834] among the descendants of his contemporaries at the India House, several of whom were still in active service of the India Office. The father of one of the latter officials received from Lamb the copy of a volume of *Tables of Simple Interest*, the fly-leaf of which, inscribed by Lamb's own hand, together with the title-page, are reproduced in Plate 47 of the present volume. Lamb's stone-ware beer mug, Toby type, was for many years preserved in the Messengers' Mess Room at the old "India House," and when, about 1880, I thought I had recovered it, the interest excited by it, in quite unexpected quarters, was most gratifying. One retired Messenger came a long journey up from the country to the India Office, simply to see it again. Lamb seems indeed to have endeared himself to every one about him at the "India House," with such tenderness and so widely was his name still regarded at the India Office quite down to 1880. It reminded me of the way in which I found Hartley Coleridge's name cherished by the humbler people about Grasmere.¹

Thomas Love Peacock was remembered only by the educated of his surviving contemporaries, and by them not so much as an author of genius, as a recounter of "good stories." Wherever he went he kept those around him in roars of laughter, and he was an immense favourite with all the Directors. James Mill, and his gifted son John Stuart Mill, would appear to have moved no enduring sympathies among their "Old India House" associates. The son, even when in conversation with others, seemed to be preoccupied with his own thoughts, all the time moving restlessly to and fro, "like a hyena," as described to me. When particularly inspired, he used, before sitting down to his desk, not only to strip himself of his coat and waistcoat, but of his trousers; and so set to work, alternately striding up and down the room, and writing at great speed. He wrote an unformed, sprawling hand, which gave great trouble in copying to the clerks, who used despitely to aver he could not spell correctly. This is not true; and, moreover, when what he had written had been fairly copied, it was found to be faultlessly expressed. Still, they detested transcribing his manuscript, and appear to have even disliked him personally for its extreme illegibility; for one of his subordinate clerks, looking one day utterly miserable and

¹ In *The Superannuated Man*, "Do ————" is H. [not E.] Dodwell; "Pi ————" is W. D. Plumley, both of the Accountant General's Department; and "Ch ————" is, or was, according to the tradition at the India Office, Jacob Chaillé of the Auditor's Department; but Canon Ainger and Mr. E. V. Lucas identify "Ch ————" with John Chambers. J. B. Pulham has already been mentioned as an "India House" friend of Lamb's; and another was Charles Ryle, of the Accountant General's Department; and many good stories were still told in my time by old India Office men of the tricks played on him by Lamb, when Ryle was deputed by Mrs. Lamb to see her son safely home from some late evening party.

distracted at his desk, on being asked if he was ill, replied angrily: "Oh no! it's only that I'm trying to unriddle some more of that d—d old fool's———." And this was the clerical estimate of the author of the *Logic* and the *Political Economy*; those who were led to it by their circumscribed although intimate observation little witting of the almost femininely feeling heart that lay oppressed and despairing, like a giant in armour too tight for him, in the coils of the deadly Stoical doctrines imposed, with such little discrimination, on the younger Mill by his self-willed and strenuously pedantic father. Most intellectual, and, in his perfect synthesis of sense and sensibility, sanest of the English hierophants of humanity, no one knew better than he the blessing conferred on the oppressed and down-trodden population of India, and on the humbler classes of the people of the United Kingdom, by the Honourable East India Company; and the moral greatness of the man shone forth in its highest pre-eminence of nobility, on the fateful day, the 2nd of September, 1858, on which the Government of India was transferred to the Imperial Crown; when, refusing the seat proffered to him in the new Council of India, he retired from the service of the Honourable East India Company direct; and left his desk in Leadenhall Street with the groanings of a deadly wounded man:—"Woe worth the Day! for the day is near,—a darkened day,—and of desolations and woes in the midst of desolation and woe."¹

¹ Bearing in imperfect remembrance an old daggereel of good homespun counsel:—

"Be eye of good heed,
Ready at his need,
Another to speed
By a foredone deed."—

I here add, as a footnote, a carefully prepared, and, as is believed, complete list, in chronological sequence, of Servants of the Honourable East India Company, employed by them at their "India House," of any notability as literary men:—

- MUN, THOMAS (1571-1641), for many years a "Committee" of the Company. Author of "A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies" (1621), and "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade" (1664).
- CHILD, SIR JOSIA (1630-1699), the well-known Governor of the Company. Published "A New Discourse of Trade" (1668).
- HOOLE, JOHN (1727-1803), Auditor of Indian Accounts and afterwards Writer and Compiler of Indian Correspondence. Translated Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered" (1763) and Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso" (1783). Wrote also three tragedies, which were acted at Covent Garden, a life of John Scott of Amwell (1785), and versions of Metastasio's dramas.
- ORME, ROBERT (1728-1801), Historiographer, 1769-1801. Published "A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan from 1745" (1763) and "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" (1782).
- DALEYMPLE, ALEXANDER (1737-1808), appointed Hydrographer to the Company in 1779. Wrote an "Account of Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean" (1767), "A General View of the East India Company" (1772), and many other works.
- BRUCE, JOHN (1745-1826), Historiographer, 1801-17. Author of "Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India" (1793), "Annals of the East India Company" (1810), "Report on the East India Company's Privileges."
- WILKINS, SIR CHARLES (1749?-1836), Librarian, 1801-36. Translated the "Bhagavadgita" (1785), and many other Sanskrit works.
- HALHED, NATHANIEL BRASSEY (1751-1830), Assistant Secretary, 1800-19. Published "A Code of Gentoo Laws" (1776), a Bengali Grammar (1778), and "A Narrative of the Events in Bombay and Bengal relative to the Mahratta Empire" (1779).
- COBB, JAMES (1756-1818), Assistant Secretary, 1802-14, and Secretary, 1814-18. Wrote twenty-four plays, some of which were very popular.
- AUBER, PETER (1770-1866), Secretary, 1829-36. Author of "An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company" (1826), "China, an Outline of its Government, etc." (1834), and "The Rise and Progress of British Power in India" (1837).
- FISHER, THOMAS (1772-1836), Searcher of Records, 1816-34. A distinguished antiquary. Wrote largely for "The Gentleman's Magazine," "The Asiatic Magazine," and other periodicals.
- MILL, JAMES (1773-1836), Examiner of India Correspondence, 1830-36. Wrote a "History of India" (1818), "Elements of Political Economy" (1821), "Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind" (1829), "A Fragment on Mackintosh" (1835).
- LAMB, CHARLES (1775-1834), Clerk in the Accountant-General's Department. His works are too well known to need further reference.
- WILSON, WALTER (1781-1847), Clerk in the Accountant-General's Department. Author of "Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel Defoe" (1830) and of "The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London" (1808-14).
- PEACOCK, THOMAS LOVE (1785-1866), Examiner of India Correspondence, 1837-56. Published many well-known novels and poems.
- DUPUY, PETER SOLOMON, Clerk in the Accountant-General's Department, 1786-1829. Published in 1795 "The Sentimental Tablets of the Good Pamphile," translated from the French of M. Gorjy.
- WILSON, HORACE HAYMAN (1786-1860), Librarian, 1836-58. Compiled a Sanskrit-English Dictionary, translated the "Rig-Veda," edited Mill's "History of India," etc.
- HORNE, MOFFAT JAMES (1796-1874), Extra Clerk in the Examiner's Office, 1822-34. Author of "The Adventures of Naufragus," in which he gave an account of his own experiences at sea and on shore in the East.
- THORNTON, EDWARD (1799-1875), Head of the Statistical Department, 1846-57. Published a "History of the British Empire in India," a "Gazetteer of India," etc.
- MILL, JOHN STUART (1806-1873), Examiner of India Correspondence, 1856-58. Author of "A System of Logic" (1843), "Principles of Political Economy" (1848), "On Liberty" (1859), "Utilitarianism" (1863), etc.
- RUNDALL, THOMAS, Clerk in the Examiner's Office, 1813-58. Edited for the Hakluyt Society "Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West" (1849), and "Memorials of the Empire of Japon" (1850).
- THORNTON, WILLIAM THOMAS (1813-1889), Clerk in the Examiner's Office, 1837-56, and afterwards Secretary in the Public Works Department of the India Office, and C.B. Author of "Over-population and its Remedy" (1845), "A Plea for Peasant Proprietors" (1848), "On Labour" (1869), etc., besides a volume of poetry entitled "Modern Manichæism" [see footnote, p. x.], "Labour's Utopia," etc. (1857).
- KAYE, SIR JOHN WILLIAM (1814-1876), Assistant in the Examiner's Office, 1856-58; afterwards Political Secretary at the India Office till 1874, and K.C.S.I. Author of numerous biographies of distinguished Anglo-Indians, a "History of the Sepoy War," "The Administration of the East India Company," etc.
- GRANT, HORACE, Clerk in the Examiner's Office, 1826-45. According to Professor Bain, Grant was "a special friend of [J. S.] Mill and the author of several education manuals, which were conceived in a very advanced view of education for the time."
- WATSON, JOHN FORBES (1827-92). Bombay Medical Service, 1850-53. Appointed by Court of Directors to report on Indian food grains. Appointed by Secretary of State Reporter on Indian Products and Director of India Museum, 1858. Retired 1880. Author of "The Textile Manufactures and Costumes of the People of India," etc., etc. Joint-editor (with Kaye) of Meadows Taylor's "People of India."

And now, in concluding this Introduction, I would wish to say a few words in well-earned praise of Mr. William Griggs's remarkable work in the art of photo-chromo-lithography, and, if I may so far presume, regarding Mr. Griggs himself.

Born in 1832, the first entry of his name in the books of the Honourable East India Company is as an artizan of the "Indian Court" of the Great Exhibition of 1851; and after that he is found attached to the service of the "Indian Court" of the International Exhibitions of 1855 and 1857 at Paris, of the Annual International Exhibitions at South Kensington of 1871-74, and of the International Exhibition at Vienna in 1873. In 1855 he was appointed Technical Assistant to the Reporter on the Products of India in connection with the collections of Indian natural products and industrial arts, lodged successively at the "India House," Leadenhall Street, and Fife House and the India Office, Whitehall; and held the appointment until the transfer of the collections to the South Kensington Museum in 1878. Of keen intelligence, close observation, lively imagination, and indomitable industry and perseverance, he at a very early date conceived the idea of popularising a knowledge of objects of antiquarian, literary, and artistic interest by cheapening the illustration of them through improvements in the process of photo-zincography discovered by Mr. Samuel Cousins, the mezzotint engraver, while serving under Colonel Sir Henry James, Director General of the Ordnance Survey [1854-75]. Mr. Griggs soon made himself master of the process; when, finding that the use of hot water removed all the gelatine from the lights of the picture, leaving ragged edges on the ink lines, he substituted the use of cold water, which removed the ink only from the lights of the picture; with the additional great advantage of the gelatine causing the transfers to adhere to the stone, without moving, when passing the stones, or zinc plates, two or three times through the press in transferring. In this way Mr. Griggs not only obtained a higher effect in the "lights" of his prints, but made the use of various colours possible and greatly cheapened the process. Moreover, as Sir Henry James had not locked up the invention by patenting it, but had given it freely to the world, including Mr. William Griggs, the latter followed this generous and public-spirited example [see his paper *On a New Process of Photo-lithography*, read before the London Photographic Society, 14th April, 1868]; thus giving its subsequent wide extension to the art of photo-chromo-zincography, or photo-chromo-lithography, which is Mr. William Griggs's specific invention, and the present universal method of half-tone block-making founded on it.

It is needless fully to enumerate here the photo-lithographic and photo-chromo-lithographic reproductions carried out by Mr. Griggs since 1868; and only the principal of them will be noted. The most important was the *Mahabhashya*, the celebrated commentary of Patanjali, the founder of the Yoga philosophy, on the *Paniniyam* of Panini, the standard authority on Sanskrit Grammar. It dates from the 3rd century B.C., and consists of 4,674 pages; and Mr. Griggs reproduced fifty copies of it in facsimile for £6,000 less than the estimate submitted by a firm for tracing the original MS. by hand. The late Dr. John Forbes Watson, Reporter on Products to the Secretary of State for India in Council, in an official Minute of March, 1874, on the subject wrote:—"In the course of execution there arose many technical difficulties of a formidable nature, resulting partly from the condition of the paper of the original MS., partly from the presence of various marks on their surface, and it is only due to the skill, untiring energy, and intense application of Mr. Griggs, during a period of upwards of three years, that the work has finally been brought to completion." Of less importance, but of wider interest, was the reproduction in facsimile of the Quartos of Shakespeare's Plays. Mr. Ashbee's hand-traced facsimiles cost £5:5:0 each; Mr. Griggs's, absolutely true to the originals, with the addition of a critical Introduction to the text of each play, were sold by him at six shillings each. Again, he reproduced the illustrations of the great work of James Fergusson on *Tree and Serpent Worship in India*, of which Fergusson, who was always difficult to satisfy in such matters, writes in his Preface:—"It was midwinter, and the snow on the ground the greater part of the time,—the task was successfully accomplished in consequence of the intelligence and untiring zeal of Mr. Griggs." And the *Anthropological Review* for 1868, reviewing the volume, wrote:—"The marbles in London have been photographed with great skill by Mr. William Griggs, who has besides executed the lithographs, and to him, as well as to Mr. Fergusson, we are indebted for the proper illustration of these wonderful structures."

These are monumental masterpieces of his prolific press. *The Textile Manufactures and Costumes of the People of India*, by J. Forbes Watson, was illustrated with numerous coloured photographs by Mr. Griggs, of which *The British Journal of Photography* of 11 Jan. 1867 wrote:—"No one but a photographer can fully realise the difficulties with which Mr. Griggs had to contend, and we are sure every one who can appreciate them will heartily congratulate that gentleman on the completion of a work which does him and all concerned in it equally high credit." He also illustrated James Wilkinson Breeks's *Nilagiri Tribes*; Henry Vandyke Carter's *Leprosy in India*; James Burgess's numerous *Reports on the Archæology of Western India*; Col. Henry Cole's *Archæology of Kashmir*; and many other works of a similar character. Special mention must also be made of his *Journal of Indian Art*, in imperial quarto, each number containing two to ten coloured plates, sold at the bewilderingly shrunken price of two shillings; and of his *Portfolios of Industrial Art*, in illustration of Chinese, Persian, Arabian, Sicilian, Italian, and Spanish decorative art, and sold at one shilling a number; and, finally, there is his last great work, *Asian Carpet Designs*, of 150 coloured plates, the production of which cost Mr. William Griggs nearly £4,000, and which is sold at £18 a copy. It is impossible to exaggerate the truth and beauty of the illustrations of these last three publications, or their value to the students of artistic industries throughout the civilised world.

All this is a marvellous achievement for a man who started in the close competition of life in London as an artizan in the Indian Court of the Great Exhibition of 1851, altogether self-educated,—for, losing his father when a child, he commenced his working career at the age of 12, later on joining the evening classes at King's College, London, to acquire the French language,—and without a single patron of lowly or high estate. The explanation is grace of character; his frank happiness in his work, his deep enthusiasm for others to share his happiness in it, and his strong sense that every gift is to be spent in the service of humanity on behalf of the Giver. Obviously, he has always had his whole heart in his life's work, and found in it his exceeding reward. This singleness and elevation and devoutness of conviction and purpose is the famous stone

"That turneth all to gold,—
For that which God doth touch and own
Cannot for less be told!"

Mr. William Griggs, therefore, is rightly to be measured, not by what he has accomplished in his mechanic art, although that is of utility and praise, but by what he is in himself by his grace of character; and having known him intimately for 40 years past (we are both now in our 77th year) for what he is, as well as in what he has done, there is no one, in my belief, within the sphere and scope of his earthly calling, and the range of my own friendships, more entitled to the boast,—as between man and man:—"I have fought the good fight, and I have professed a good profession, and by the witness of many witnesses, of most worshipfullest worth."

St. Thomas's Day, 1908.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

THE ARMS OF THE FIRST EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Modest indeed were the beginnings of the association of merchants to which, on the last day of the sixteenth century, the ever famous Queen Elizabeth granted a monopoly of English trade with the East Indies. Although they numbered in their ranks the wealthiest men in London and their concession covered almost half the world, they set to work with as cautious a thrift as if they were merely arranging a venture to Newcastle for sea-coal or to Lisbon for dried fish. For staff, a secretary, a book-keeper, and a beadle sufficed them until the success of their first expedition obliged them to engage additional assistance; while for offices the use of a few rooms in the house of their Governor, Sir Thomas Smythe, was the only accommodation they possessed for no less a period than twenty-one years. This, however, was frugality—not parsimony. As many an entry in their records shows, they never spared money in assisting a case deserving charity, in rewarding meritorious service, or in maintaining fittingly the position and dignity of the Company.

To this last-named class we may refer the provision, at an early stage of its history, of a coat of arms for the newly established corporation. Sir George Birdwood has already quoted the entry in the minutes of May 1, 1601, authorising a payment for that purpose of twenty marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* then, but equivalent to at least ten times that amount now). The grant is registered at the College of Arms under date of Feb. 9, 1601; and the following heraldic description of the arms appointed may be of interest:—

Coat. Azure, three ships or, all under sail, garnished with crosses gules; and upon a chief or, between two roses gules, an additionment out of the arms of England, viz. quarterly azure gules, in the first and last a lis or, in the second and third a lion passant guardant of the same.

Crest. On a wreath, a sphere or globe terrestrial, between two standards of St. George.

Supporters. Two sea lions, or azure, mantled gules doubled azure.

Motto over the crest. DEUS INDICAT.

Motto under the coat. DEO DUCENTE NIL NOCET.

The punning reference to the Indies in the first motto (Deus INDI-cat) should not be missed.

In designing these beautiful and appropriate arms, the "Kynge of Heraldes" no doubt had in mind those already granted to another great maritime trading body, namely, the Muscovy or Russia Company, whose shield bore *one* ship on an ice-encumbered sea. Similarly, the Levant merchants in the succeeding reign were granted a coat depicting a ship in full sail between two rocks, and for supporters two sea-horses.

The East India Company was evidently proud of its arms. It stamped them on its books and carved them in any appropriate place, including the cabins of the ships

built for its service. In February, 1615, Sir Thomas Roe, who had just with a sore heart left his bride and embarked in the *Lion* on his long and perilous mission to the Great Mogul, wrote to Sir Thomas Smythe, the Governor: "Your own motto heartens me in every room: HE IS SAFE KEPT WHOM GOD KEEPS." (*British Museum Additional MS.* 6115, f. 52).

The reproduction here given is from a volume of the Company's records dated 1677. The arms are there stamped only in outline on the vellum cover. The colouring has been added to show the full beauty of the coat.

These arms continued until the First Company's amalgamation with the New Company of 1698, when the insignia of the latter body were adopted for the joint association.

F.





COAT OF ARMS OF THE OLD EAST INDIA COMPANY,
FROM COVER OF A MS. BOOK.
"GOLD AND SILVER RECEIVED AND WEIGHED 1677."



A ROYAL LICENCE OF 1609.

In choosing for reproduction a selection of charters and royal grants received by the East India Company our first enquiry would naturally be for the Letters Patent granted by Queen Elizabeth on December 31, 1600, by which that body was incorporated; but alas! that historic document has long been missing. Possibly it was surrendered when the Charter of 1609, which superseded it, was placed in the hands of the Governor; but even then one might hope to discover it among the state papers now in the Public Record Office. However, all search has proved futile; and unless in the future some fortunate accident brings it to light in a private collection, we shall never see the piece of parchment by virtue of which the foundations of our Anglo-Indian Empire were laid.

Failing the Charter of 1600, the earliest royal grant we can lay hands upon is that which forms No. 3 of the list of "Parchment Records" at the India Office. This is a licence for the sale of spices for exportation ungarbled, dated August 9, 1606, and would have been here reproduced but for the fact that it is in so damaged a condition as to be practically illegible. We are therefore forced to pass on to No. 4 of that series, which is a document of the same character. This is fortunately in a good state of preservation, and we are able to present a facsimile which can be read without difficulty.

This interesting grant was one of those unearthed by Sir George Birdwood in 1875, of which a calendar was subsequently prepared by the late Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, of the Public Record Office (see Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, Second Reprint [1891], p. 263); and as a preliminary to what we have here to say concerning it we may quote in full the technical description there given:—

"22nd May, 1609 (7 Jac. I.). Westminster.—The King's Licence to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies to sell any quantities of spices, wares, merchandises and commodities in whole packs, sacks, or casks, ungarbled, to any merchant or other person, to be transported out of the realm, without incurring forfeiture for not garbling or cleansing them, upon payment of customs, notwithstanding any prohibition to the contrary. *With the Great Seal mutilated.* N.B. There is a Minute only of this Licence, dated 11th May, 1609, in the Public Record Office (*Docquet and Grant Book*, Jac. I., p. 51)."

To explain the purpose of the grant we must go back to the first year of King James's reign, when Parliament in its wisdom passed an act (1^o Jac. I. c. 19) forbidding the sale of any spices, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, etc., that had not been previously "garbled," *i.e.*, sifted and cleansed from dirt or other impurities. This enactment, though its intention was laudable enough, quickly proved a serious embarrassment to the new East India Company, whose principal importations came within its scope. The garbling could only be done by the King's Garbler or his authorized deputies, and

not only did the vast quantities brought by the Company's ships render this task an almost impossible one, but the fees charged and the reduction in bulk effected by the process materially hampered the sale of the large proportion that must necessarily be exported. In 1606, therefore, the East India Company addressed a humble petition to His Majesty, pointing out that the obvious intention of the act was merely to protect his loving subjects from suffering in their healths or their purses, and that the foreigner might well be left to look after himself; they therefore besought him to refer the matter to the two Lord Chief Justices and other persons learned in the law, and, should they concur, to grant a *non obstante* on the statute for all merchandise of the kind that might be sold for transportation beyond the seas. The reference was made accordingly, and it would seem that the report was favourable, for on August 9, 1606, a royal licence (the now illegible document already mentioned) was granted to the desired effect (*The First Letter Book of the East India Company*, edited by Sir George Birdwood and William Foster, 1893, pp. 199-207).

But unfortunately the cautious person who gave the instructions for drawing up this document inserted two restrictions which went far to make the concession unworkable. The first was to the effect that all goods sold under the licence must be exported within a period of three months, and unless this were done the seller remained subject to the pains and penalties of the act. The second was still more serious. It made the concession contingent upon there being at any given time a sufficient quantity of spices available in England "to be used, spent and occupied by our loveing subjectes within the same realme in their meates, drinckes and other needfull occasions, and the same to be sould, uttered and put to sale to any of our loveing subjectes at reasonable and indifferent prices"; and whenever this ceased to be the case the Company was at once to stop its sales for exportation. Now who could say on any particular date whether the stock of spices in the kingdom was sufficient to meet the public needs, or whether the price then obtaining in the market was a "reasonable and indifferent" one? It was probably to meet these difficulties that the present grant was obtained. In substance it is a repetition of the licence of 1606, but there is no time limit for exportation and the obnoxious clause just cited is wholly omitted. Besides its general interest as a specimen of a royal grant of the time of the first Stuart, its history affords an example of the exercise of a power which the Crown has long since lost, namely, that of overriding by the fiat of the Sovereign the provisions of an Act of Parliament.

F.

6. *Palenstrofe*

BOMBAY HARBOUR IN 1626.

In the days when marine charts were rudimentary and when, as no method was known of determining longitude with exactness, the position of a ship at sea was continually in doubt, it was important that the navigator should be able to recognise at sight any land that might loom up on the horizon. The seventeenth century logs are consequently full of descriptions of the aspect of the coast at various points seen during the voyage; and frequently these word-pictures are supplemented by more or less elaborate drawings. Special attention was devoted to anchorages, where it was necessary not only to know how to get safely in and out, but also where to anchor to the best advantage.

Of such a nature is the rough sketch here reproduced from one of the journals in the Record Department of the India Office (*Marine Records*, No. xlv.). From an artistic point of view it is by no means the best of its class; but it happens to possess a special interest in that it illustrates the very first visit of English ships to what is now one of the best-known ports in the world, the famous harbour of Bombay.

In the year 1626 the English and the Dutch in alliance had for some time been carrying on a combined warfare with the Portuguese in the East. As part of these operations they had kept a fleet on the Malabar Coast to intercept Portuguese shipping and occasionally to harass the enemy by making a descent upon one or more of his minor settlements. Amongst the latter was the small town of Bombay, where a certain amount of ship-building was carried on under the protection of a little fort. In this case the raid was prompted by a desire to destroy a Portuguese fleet which was believed to be lying there, but which was found to have departed. The fort, however, was bombarded and the town plundered and set on fire. When the fleet quitted the harbour it left Bombay a heap of ruins.

Among the vessels employed in this expedition was the Honourable Company's ship *Discovery*, on board of which David Davies, to whom we are indebted for this plan of the harbour, was serving as a master's mate. Before examining his drawing in detail, we may perhaps quote his narrative of the operations:—

"1626, October. The 13th we went into the Baye and roade without the stakes, as you maye see in the draft following.

"The 14th the *Moris* and ij Dutch shipps went in neere the greate howse to batter agaynst it, in which batterie ij of the *Moris* ordnance splitt. The same daie we landed 300 men, Englishe and Dutch, and burnt all their kittjonn [*kajan*, or palm-leaf] howses and tooke the greate howse with ij basses of brasse and one sakor of iron.

"The 15th all our men embarkqued aboorde the shipps, being Sondag in the evening, and lefte the greate howse (which was boath a warehowse, a friory and a forte) all afire burning, with many other good howses, together with two nywe frigates not yett frome the stockes nor fully ended. But they hadd

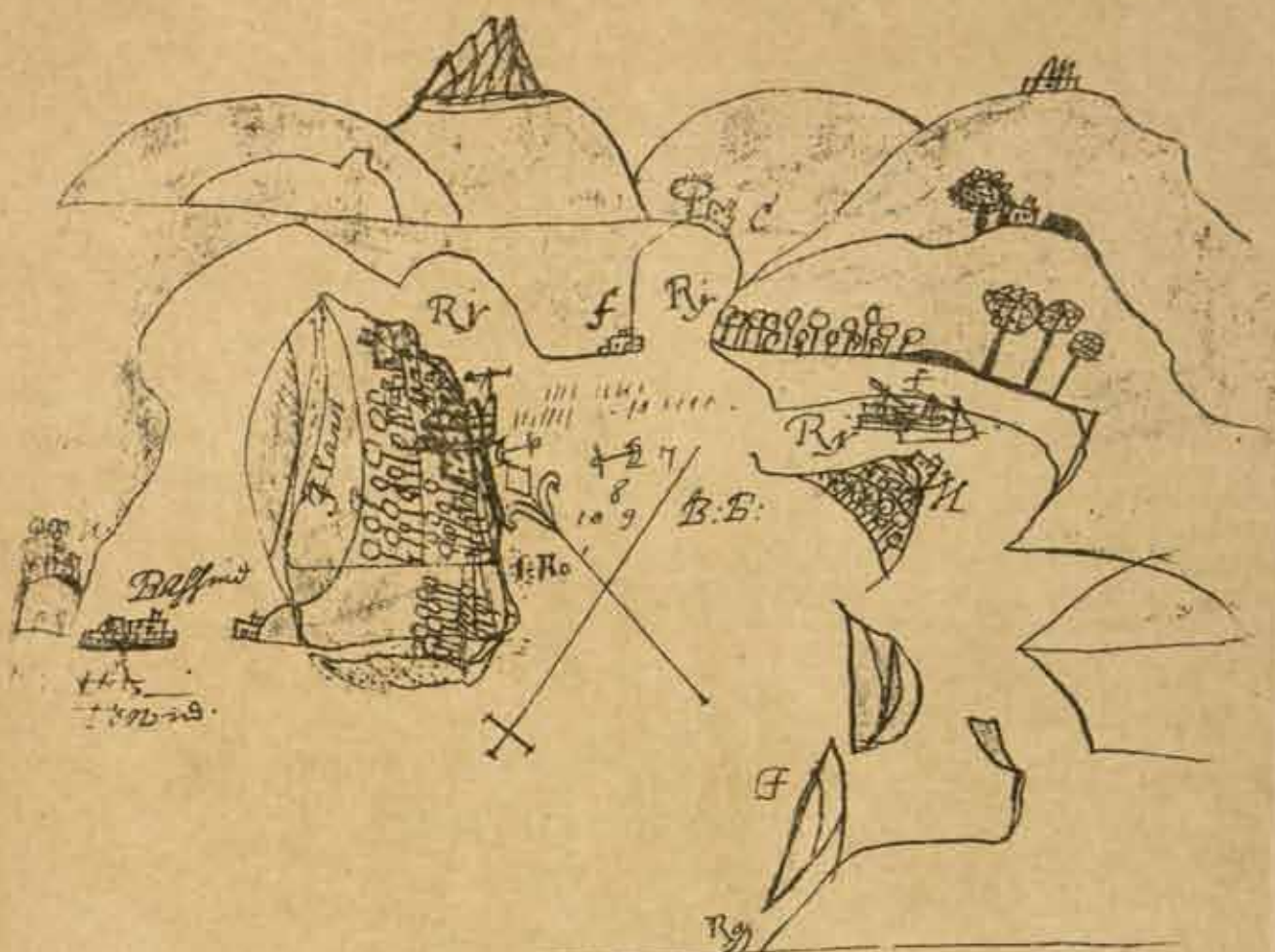
caried away all their treasur and all things of any vallue, for all were runde awaye before our men landed."

To this brief summary of the operations is appended the sketch at which we are now looking. Davies has added underneath an explanatory note, which, for the sake of those who may find a difficulty in deciphering his handwriting, we here transcribe:—

"The letters BB is the Bay. T is the Towne. Ry is the 3 Rivers. The Ro[ad] is ij Rockes, one boath sides. Wher the stime [stem] of the Anckors [is] we Roade befor the greate howse without the stakes. Wher the wood [is] is the Iland. The higher great piramides is a Castell, as we thinke, up in the land. The letter C by the great tree is a hermitadg. The letter M is a monasteri, and the littell towne of cittjohn howses betwixt it and the Wood. Wher the letter f [is] ther weare a dozen friketts Riding. The letter N over Bassine is a nunery."

This quaint reminder of the past was first brought to notice in the Second Reprint (1891) of Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, where the reader will find two additional contemporary accounts of the episode. Its publication aroused considerable interest in Bombay, and when, two years later, Mr. James Douglas issued his chatty volumes on *Bombay and Western India*, he reproduced Davies's sketch with elaborate identifications by Sir Henry Morland and Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Campbell. Of these elucidations we may note that, in the opinion of the former, the drawing was made "partly from two spots, viz. at anchor in the harbour and when sailing off the port, a little north, and principally from the latter point, probably at anchor off Worli or Mahalakshmi, for this part of the view is exact." For "Bassine," it seems, we should read "Bandara," as the former is twenty miles away. The building on the opposite point is Worli Fort. The three "rivers" or channels are respectively Panwel River, Thana Creek and Mahim Creek. "C" is Trombay Old Church. "M" is Karanja Hill, on which ruins still exist. The "higher great piramides" is Chandni Hill—"Queen of Marathas' Castle"; while the smaller one on the right is Funnel Hill. The elevation below that, with a tree and a small building, is meant for Elephanta Island; and below that again, by the three trees, is Butcher's Island. In the foreground we have (F) the high land of Thal and (Ro) the island of Khenery.

F.



The Letter B is the Bay it is the Town. By it is
 a River. By R. is a small one boat ship -
 is upon the shore of the Harbour no Roads but
 is a great port for the ships. By the
 word of the Island. By the great pyramid
 is a temple at the top of the Island.
 The letter C: by the great tree is a hermitage
 the letter H is a monastery the letter
 found of the fort. By the letter F is a wood.
 By the letter F is a wood. By the letter
 By the letter R above Bluff is a nunnery.

FACSIMILE OF THE SKETCH MAP OF THE ISLAND AND HARBOUR OF BOMBAY,
 APPENDED TO DAVID DAVIES' JOURNAL IN THE DISCOVERY, 13, 14 & 15 OCT., 1626.
 See Sir Geo. Birdwood's reprinted Report (1890) of Old Records at the India Office, p. 215.

A LICENCE FOR THE EXPORT OF GOLD, 1631.

We have already had a specimen of a licence to the Company from King James I.; here we have one granted by that monarch's unfortunate son and successor, under date of November 21, 1631.

The subject brings to mind the fierce complaints that were made against the Company in the early days. The cry was raised that it was impoverishing the commonwealth by the constant export of treasure: that it took out of the country the money which was the life-blood of its commerce, and brought back in exchange silks and calicoes and spices—all luxuries which the land would be better without. In vain Thomas Mun, the earliest of English economists, took up the cudgels on behalf of his co-adventurers. In clear and simple language he explained that the coins carried out were Spanish rials (the only European coins current in the East), not English money: that the bulk of the Company's importations went to the Continent, where they produced a handsome profit which brought in more cash or its equivalent than ever was taken out: and that if the Company's trade ceased, the nation would have to buy East Indian goods from the Dutch at any price the latter chose to fix, and this money would go out of the country without any probability of its return. His arguments convinced but few persons; the public in general maintained a blind prejudice against the trade, which broke out from time to time in threats of parliamentary restriction; and the Company found it expedient to walk very warily in the exportation of treasure. Under the terms of their current charter (1609) they were permitted to carry out foreign silver, in coin or bullion, to an extent not exceeding the value of 30,000*l.* in each voyage; while a subsequent grant of January 16, 1618 (of which no copy has survived) appears to have supplemented this by allowing 100,000*l.* worth to be exported in any one year.

Gradually, however, the Company found that it was more profitable to send gold to India than silver. The former metal had always been the basis of the currency on the Coast of Coromandel (a letter of the time quaintly explains that this was because the poor cultivator or weaver found gold easier to hide from rapacious officials); and even in Gujarat or Persia the native merchant looked with favour on a metal so readily transportable and so constantly in demand for jewel work and other artistic purposes. In consequence, all sorts of gold coins—Dutch riders, double alberts, German gold dollars, and English twenty shilling pieces—were sent out by the East India Company in lieu of rials of eight. During the reign of Charles I. we find repeated applications for authority to substitute gold for silver; and evidently the present grant was issued in response to one of these petitions, although, owing to the loss of the Court Minutes of the time, we have no direct evidence on the subject. It authorizes the Company "to buy and take upp within this our realme of England and the domynions of the same the somme of thirtie thousand pounds in forraine gould," and to export the said sum into the East Indies or Persia in this their intended

voyage, without incurring any penalties for their action and without any payment of customs or subsidy thereupon. An endorsement on the licence states that upon the strength of this authorisation the Company shipped in the *Pearl* a chest of foreign gold to the value of 8,863*l.*, and a second in the *Charles* to the value of 8,000*l.*

The King's sign manual for the issue of this licence, dated November 19, 1631, is preserved at the Public Record Office (*Sign Manuals, Car. I.*, vol. xiii. No. 69).

F.

THE WARRANT FROM OLIVER CROMWELL.

The next two plates bring us to the period when England—for the first and last time in its history—was under a republican form of government. Naturally, during the turbulent period of the Civil War, the Adventurers to the East Indies, like all other peaceable persons, suffered considerable disturbance and loss; but when once the broils had simmered down, they not only had little further cause of complaint but, to their great joy, found in the Lord Protector a vigorous champion of their long-standing grievances against their Dutch rivals. In 1652 Cromwell, who had other scores to settle with Holland, took up the Company's claims; and when the war that followed was ended by the Treaty of Westminster (April, 1654), the defeated Hollanders were forced to promise full compensation for the losses they had caused the London East India Company. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to assess the damages. The English put in a claim for over two and a half millions sterling, while the Dutch, not to be outdone, exhibited a statement showing that in equity a sum of nearly three millions was due to them from the London Company. Cromwell, however, was not to be trifled with; and in the end the Hollanders were forced to agree to pay 85,000*l.* to the Company, besides 3,615*l.* to the heirs of those who had suffered in the "Massacre of Amboyna." The amount was duly handed over; but the losses for which it had been claimed had extended over a period of forty years, and a question at once arose as to which of the various "joint stocks" had a right to share in it, and in what proportions. These knotty points were referred to arbitration, and pending the decision the cash was lodged in the hands of two London merchants, Sir Thomas Viner and Alderman Riccard.

The arbitrators' award was duly given; but before it could be acted upon, the Company was startled by a demand from the Protector for the loan of the whole amount, to meet the pressing needs of the State. The following is the official account of the incident (*Minutes of a General Court*, July 18, 1655):—

"Mr. Governour declared to the Gennerallity that hee supposed it is not unknowne to them what paines hath bine taken in endeavouring to possesse themselves of the 85,000*l.* from the Dutch, now deposited in the hands of Sir Thomas Vyner and Mr. Alderman Riccard by an Order of the Councell untill the proprietors of that mony be knowne; the which hath since bine determined by the Referrees, and thereupon a petition was presented to His Highnes, praying order to receive the said mony soe deposited; the which was referred to a Committee of the Councell, who sent a summons for some of the Company to appeare before them on Friday last; and they makeing their appearance accordingly, the Councell acquainted them that His Highnes hath great occasion at present for mony, and therefore they desired the Company to lend them the said summe of 85,000*l.* for twelve months; to which they replied that it concerned a great number of persons, many of which were

very necessitous, and if their Lordships would please to give their proposall in writeing, they would communicate it to the Gennerall Court and returne their Lordships an answere speedily. Hee then presented to the Court a paper sealed up, without any direction, which was sent him from Secretary Thurlow, but not signed. Upon opening thereof it appeared to bee the proposall from the Councell; and it being twice read in Court, hee desired them to consider what answere they would thinke fitt to returne thereunto. And after consideration was had thereof and the same debated at large, the Court was inclinable to accomodate His Highnes soe farr as was in their power to doe safely and lawfully, in regard many widdowes, orphants and executors are concerned therein, who are not present. Therefore it was at length resolved to drawe a petition by way of remonstrance, the heads whereof was now drawne, read and approved of; and for answere to the Councells proposall, Mr. Governour was desired to putt the following question to the vote, vizt.: Whither this Court will and doe consent, soe farr as they cann lawfully binde widdowes, orphants, executors and absent persons, to lend to His Highnes 50,000/., parte of the 85,000/. deposited, upon the security of the great seale of England; the which question was resolved on in the affirmative."

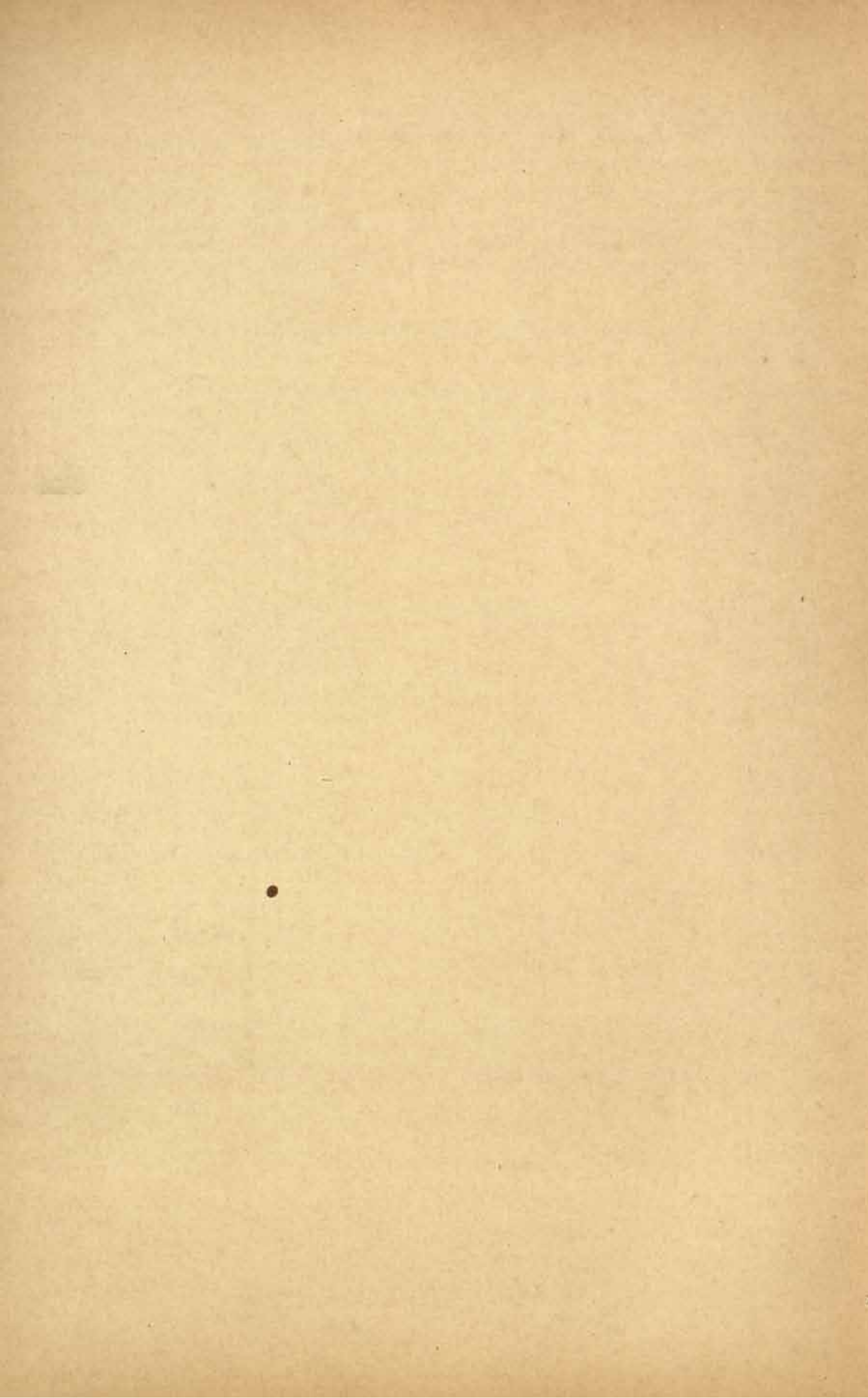
A committee was next appointed to draw up the answer to the Council, and "to agree and accept of the best termes for payment and security they can gett or shall thinke fitting." The result of their negotiations was an agreement that the money should be repaid by three equal instalments, the first at the end of a year and the other two at intervals of six months; and to this arrangement effect was given by the document here reproduced. It need scarcely be added that the loan was punctually repaid at the appointed dates.

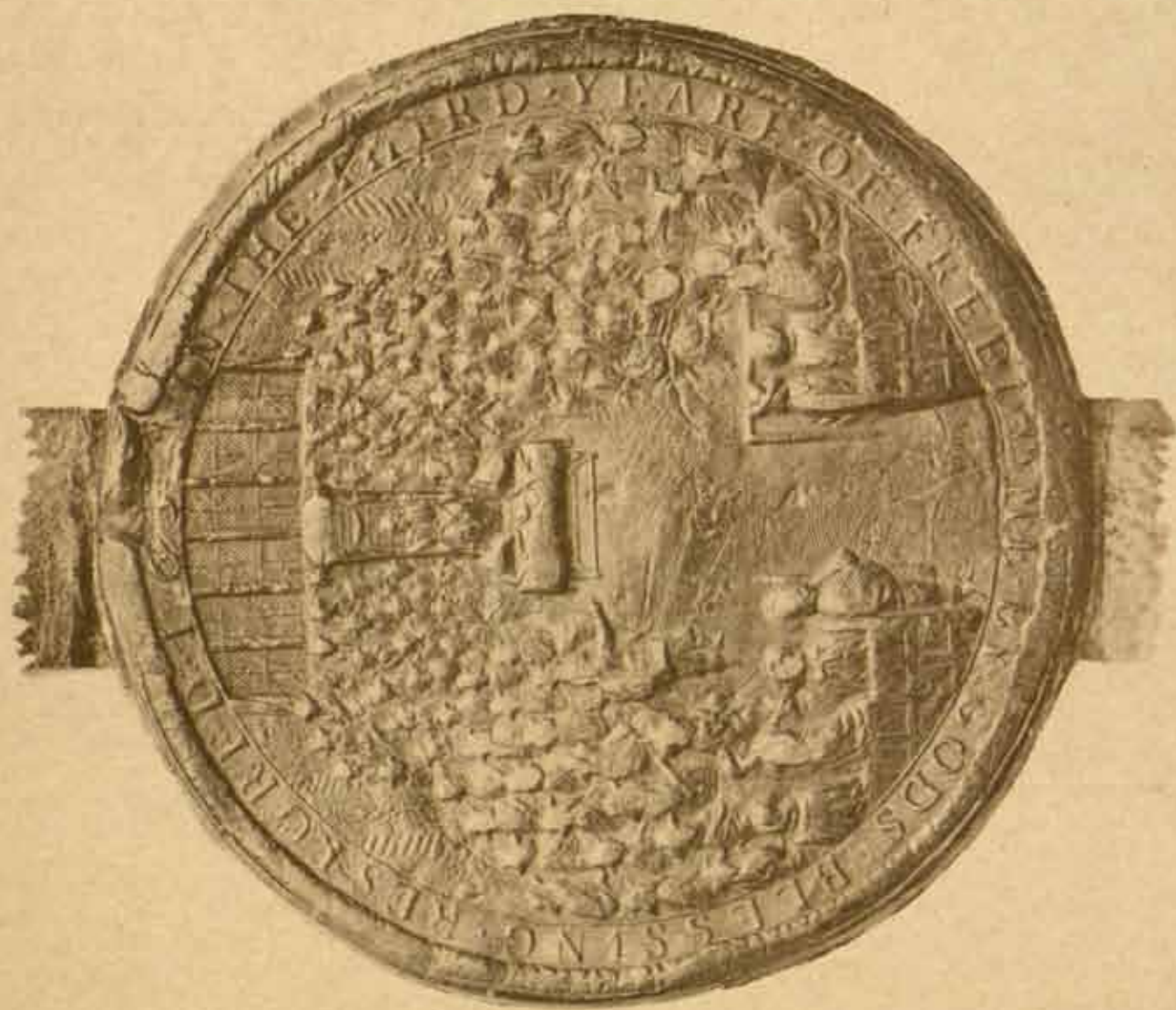
To the warrant is attached a fine specimen of the Great Seal of England, of which a photograph is given on the second plate. This seal was designed by Thomas Simon, and has on the one side a map of England and Ireland, with the arms of the respective countries; and on the other a representation of a meeting of Parliament, with the inscription: "In the third yeare of freedome by Gods blessing restored. 165[]."

F.

The first of these is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the second is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the third is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the fourth is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the fifth is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the sixth is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the seventh is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the eighth is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the ninth is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the tenth is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the eleventh is the **Ordering Our wish**
 and the twelfth is the **Ordering Our wish**
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WARRANT FROM OLIVER CROMWELL, LORD PROTECTOR, TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY, DATED 7TH AUGUST, 1655, FOR THE PAYMENT TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF LONDON TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES, IN THREE INSTALMENTS, OF £50,000. PART OF THE SUM RECEIVED FROM THE DUTCH UNDER THE TREATY OF WESTMINSTER, 1654 AS COMPENSATION FOR WRONGS AND DAMAGES SUSTAINED BY THE LONDON COMPANY.





SEAL APPENDED TO THE WARRANT FROM OLIVER CROMWELL. ENGRAVED BY THOMAS SIMON. 1655

Full size of original.

A PETITION TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

The services rendered by the Protector to the East India Company did not end with his forcing the Dutch to pay them compensation and to promise the restoration of the island of Pulo Run, the important island in the Bandas of which they had been dispossessed as far back as the reign of James I. In spite of powerful influences making for the throwing open of the Indian commerce to all English merchants, or at least for its management by an association which should leave its members at liberty to trade individually, Cromwell decided to follow the old lines of a Joint Stock with an exclusive monopoly, and to this end granted, on October 19, 1657, a charter under the Broad Seal of England which re-established the Company practically on the lines of the previous charter of 1609. On the strength of that grant a subscription was opened which provided no less a capital than 739,782*l.* for the prosecution of the trade; and from this date commences the most prosperous period in the history of the Old Company.

The document before us must have been one of the first acts of the Company after the receipt of the new charter. No reference to its preparation or presentation can be traced in the official records; but its character and cause are obvious enough. It is a petition addressed to the Protector early in November, 1657, asking that a ship and a frigate might be sent to St. Helena, there to await and convoy home the petitioners' ships "comeing from severall remote parts," as it was rumoured that the Spaniards were fitting out an expedition to intercept them. No small part of the interest of the document—which now hangs in a prominent position in the India Office Reading Room—lies in the signatures appended to it, which are those of nearly all the principal London merchants then interested in the commerce of the East. For one signature we look in vain—that of the venerable Governor of the Company, William Cokayne; but we find (in a prominent position on the left) that of Maurice Thomson, to whom Cokayne was in another month to yield the chair. Half-way down on the right is the name of Andrew Riccard, the Deputy Governor, who was later on (as Sir Andrew) to be Governor from 1660 to 1662, and again from 1666 to 1672, when he died. Visitors to Pepys's church (St. Olave's, Hart Street) will remember the statue of Riccard set up therein by the Turkey Company, of which he was Governor for eighteen successive years. Of the regular "Committees" for 1657 we note Thomas Andrew (Governor, 1659-60), Captain (later Sir) William Rider, Alderman Nathaniel Temms and William Garway. Among the new adventurers represented are Richard (afterwards Sir Richard) Ford, Martin Noell,¹ John Banks, later on a Baronet and

¹ He was knighted later, and in 1664 came into collision with the Company on rather an interesting question. "Sir Martin Noell . . . told us the dispute between him, as Farmer of the Additional Duty, and the East India Company whether callicoes be linen or no: which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so: they say it is made of cotton woole, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hempe. But it was carried against the Company, though they stand out against the verdict." (Pepys's *Diary*, February 27, 1664.)

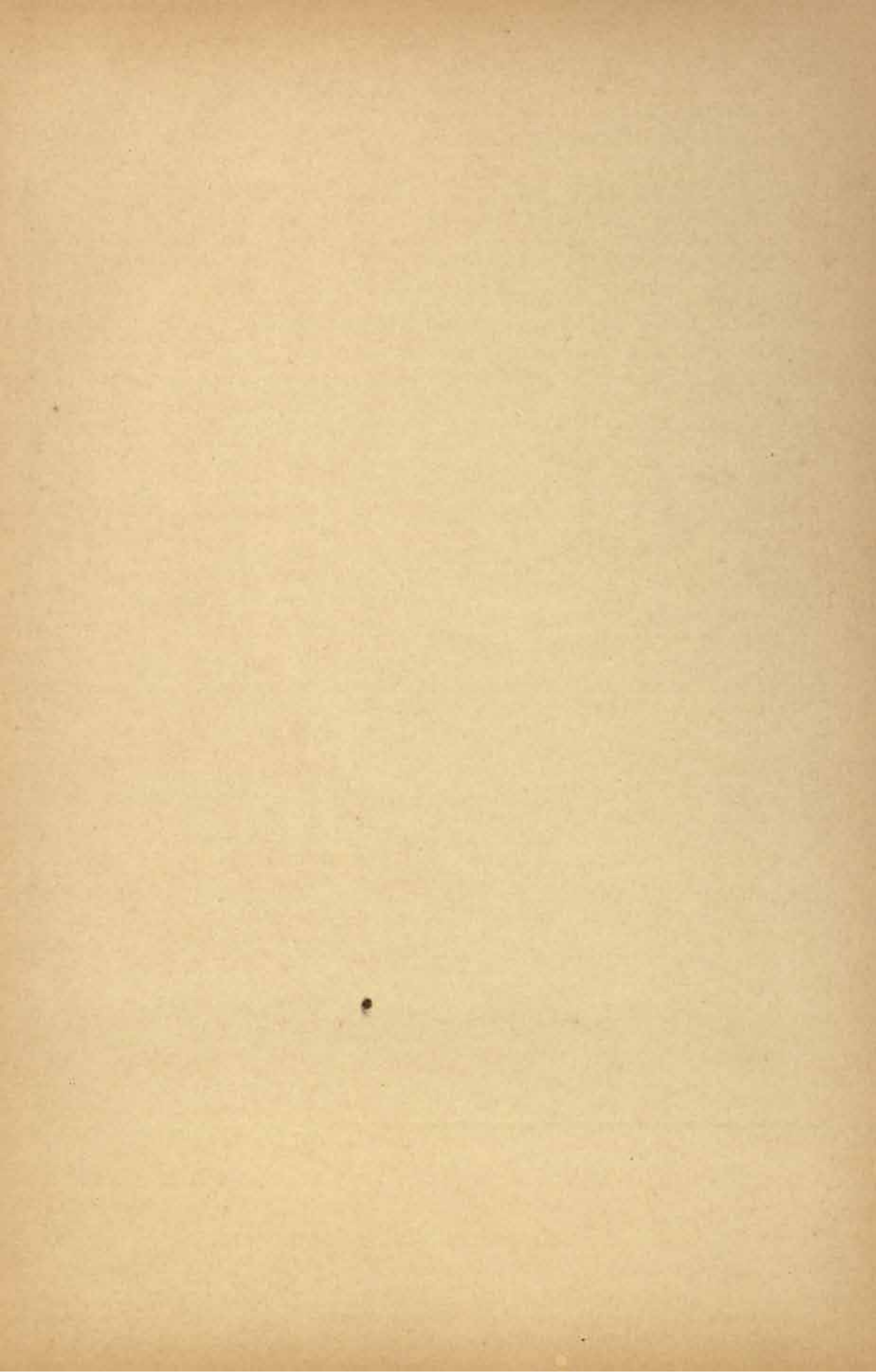
Governor of the Company from 1672 to 1674 and again in 1683-84,¹ Thomas Kendall, Captain John Crowther and Captain James Brookhaven. Other noteworthy signatures are those of Alderman (afterwards Sir) William Thomson, Governor in 1664-66, 1676-78 and 1680-81; John (later Sir John) Lewys; Aldermen John Frederick and William Vincent, both of whom were subsequently knighted; and Alderman William Pennoyer.

The principal interest, however, of this faded piece of paper consists in the endorsement traced upon it by Cromwell himself, referring the petition to the Commissioners of the Admiralty and desiring them "to doe heerein what they may for the incoragement of the East India trade." It is a bold, clear handwriting, but shows traces of unsteadiness; for indeed his health was already failing, and in less than ten months the Protector was dead. In the absence of the charter which he granted—and which after the Restoration was suppressed with such thoroughness that not only the original but all the copies have disappeared—this record is a precious relic of the connexion between the great English statesman and the Company for which he did so much.

We may note in concluding that three of Cromwell's descendants rose to high position under the East India Company. Sir John Russell, son of Frances, the Protector's youngest daughter, was Governor of Fort William in Bengal from 1711 to 1713; and Sir Henry Frankland, a grandson of the same Frances, occupied that post from 1726 to 1728. Sir Francis Russell, another great-grandson of Cromwell, was a Member of Council in Bengal; and the names of several other descendants are to be found in the Company's records.

F.

¹ The following quotation seems apposite here. "Sir John Bankes told us several passages of the East India Company; and how in his very case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico 64,000*l.* from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indys, Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word that if they did not pay them by such a day he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him they did presently pay the money every farthing." (*Pepys's Diary*, February 19, 1664.)



To his Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector of
England, Scotland and Ireland &c; &c; &c;

The humble Petition of ^{the} Merchants
Trading into East India.

Sheweth

That your Pet. (by blessing of God) doe export divers Ships
from India neare Somers. who returning from severall remote
parts, usually touch at St. Hellena Island for refreshment
& to meet Company homeward bound.

And having Notice out of Biskay, That the
Spaniards doe intend to send some Men of Warr
to Intercept our East India Trade.

Your Pet. humbly pray that your Highnesse and
Councell would be pleased to Order some good
Ship or Frigate to Saile thither, and to stay
untill the last of May, to gett all your Ships in a
fleet, and convey them home: that it would
be for the Honour & Benefit of your Nation, &
a great Security & Encouragement to Merchants
Trade.

And your Pet. shall
daily pray &c.

Maurice Thomson

Sam Moyer

Wm Rider

Thomas Kendalls

John Lewis

Thomas Andrew

John Banks

Wm. Holcomb

John Smith
Wm. Thomson

Martin Noell
Wm. Pomroy

John Frederick
Nathan. Temms

Wm. Darnay
Robt. Ellis

Robt. Roberts
George Keate

John Grouthorpe

Richard Jones

And Richard
Wm. Vincent

Wm. Rogers

John Grouthorpe

Richard Jones

Petition of the East India
Company
and his Highnesse
Honour

Oliver P.

We recommend the answerings of this
petition to the Com^{rs} of our Admiralty
desiring them to doe herein what they
may for the encouragement of the East
India Trade Given att White-hall this
6th of November 1657.

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397-44
335-00
1-15-00
435-4-00
430-00-00
230-00-00

THE CHARTER OF THE SECOND CHARLES.

The restoration of King Charles—welcome though it was as putting an end to a period of uncertainty that was particularly trying to those engaged in commerce—was not without its embarrassments for the East India Company. For one thing there was the question of the Company's house, which belonged to that fine old Cavalier, "the loyal Lord Craven." The Parliamentary Government had confiscated and sold that nobleman's property, as a punishment for his adherence to the Stuart cause, and the Company had been paying their rent to the new holders. His Lordship now resumed possession, and the question of their past payments seemed to threaten trouble. Lord Craven, however, proved reasonable, and a fresh lease was obtained from him without much difficulty. More serious was the legal position of the Company. They had accepted a new charter from him whom it was now the fashion to term the Usurper, and on the faith of that grant had embarked a large capital in the East India trade. Obviously the best thing to do was to secure another charter from the restored King as speedily as possible, and thus make themselves safe. To smooth the way a present of some sort or other was determined upon. At a General Meeting held on June 5, 1660, "Mr. Governour . . . acquainted the Court that it had been the thoughts and opinion of the Committees that it would well befitt this Company, and much improve their interest, to addresse themselves to His Majesty with some convenient present to congratulate his happy restitution to the Crowne and Government and shew a sence of their loyall affection to him, as well as the Merchant-Adventurers have done and the Turkie Company resolved to doe; which motion was so readily embraced by the Generallity that immediatelie it became more their care how to performe it then to make any scruple of doing it. And thereupon some gentlemen proposed a jewell, others coyned gold; but it being most generally conceived that plate for furnishing His Majesties house would at this juncture be very seasonable and a continuall memoriall of the donours, RESOLVED by a question that the value of three thousand pounds in such plate as shalbe thought most fitt should with all convenient speed be prepared in a readinesse, and be presented to His Majestie in the Companyes name accordingle." No niggardliness was shown in the matter, for the plate really cost 3,210*l.*; and doubtless His Majesty received with all graciousness and satisfaction this token of the Company's attachment. To grease further the wheels of diplomacy presents were given to several members of the royal entourage; and on August 31, a hint having been received that the Duke of York expected to be complimented in a like manner, the sum of one thousand pounds was voted for presentation to His Royal Highness in any fashion the Committees might decide. What form this gift took is not known; but a warrant for 1,062*l.* 10*s.* on account of it was passed at the end of November, 1660.

The happy result of all this expenditure was seen in the following year. By letters patent bearing date the third of April in the thirteenth year of the reign of King

Charles II. (1661), His Majesty granted unto the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies "for ever hereafter . . . the whole entire and only trade and traffick . . . to and from the said East Indies." The privileges given to them by "our late Royall Progenitors, Queene Elizabeth [Shade of the Virgin Queen!] and King James of blessed memory," were renewed and some fresh ones added. Among the latter was the right to send out ships of war, men and ammunition, and to authorize their commanders to continue or make peace or war with any Prince or People (that are not Christians) in any places of their trade, as shall be most for the advantage and benefit of the said Governor and Company; also to erect and garrison fortifications at any of their settlements, including St. Helena (which was not strictly within their limits). Interlopers might be seized and sent home; and the chief officials of the Company were commissioned to bring to trial and punish offenders among their subordinates in the East.

This is the document—the earliest of the great charters of the Company now extant—of which we here reproduce the first and last sheets. Of the former the ornamental bordering, with the initial portrait of the King, has been cut away by some sacrilegious hand. The other sheet has fared somewhat better, only the side borders having been clipped; but even in this the coloured and gilded presentment of the Company's arms at the bottom has been abstracted, though the corresponding circlet at the top has escaped the shears. The text, however, which is after all the most important consideration, has fortunately remained uninjured.

F.

22. 11. 1919

THE GRANT OF BOMBAY.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the island of Bombay was ceded to the English Crown in 1661 as part of the very miscellaneous dowry of Charles II.'s Portuguese consort, Catherine of Braganza. In the following year an expedition was sent out under the Earl of Marlborough to take possession; but the wording of the treaty was vague, and in consequence the local Portuguese officials (who were bitterly opposed to the transfer) were able on various pretexts to delay the surrender until February, 1665, and then only gave over the island on terms which deprived the concession of much of its value. The indignation excited in England by this delay is voiced by Mr. Pepys, who writes in his diary, under date of May 15, 1663:—"The Portugalls have choused us, it seems, in the island of Bombay in the East Indys; for after a great charge of our fleets being sent thither with full commission from the King of Portugall to receive it, the Governour by some pretence or other will not deliver it to Sir Abraham Shipman, sent from the King, nor to my Lord of Marlborough; which the King takes highly ill, and I fear our Queen will fare the worse for it."

But even when the island was at last in his hands, King Charles was not much better pleased, for he quickly discovered that it was of little or no use to him, that it was never likely to yield him any revenue, and that in fact it threatened to become a constant drain upon his purse. In these circumstances he prudently resolved to make it over to the East India Company. The offer was received with some coolness, for the Company, although their servants had already urged the importance of securing this easily defensible position, with its excellent harbour, considered it advisable to show no eagerness in the matter, lest the King should bargain for some recompense. They therefore answered cautiously that if no claim were made upon them for past outlay they would be willing to relieve His Majesty of the expense of the island, at the same time assuring him that had it been previously offered to them by the Portuguese they would not have dreamt of accepting it. Charles, however, was not one to haggle over money matters, and on March 27, 1668, he issued his letters patent by which his new possession passed into the hands of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies.

This document, of which we here reproduce the first sheet, recites the cession of the island by "Our good brother the king of Portugall," and after noting the fact that it lies within the sphere of the Company's operations, as defined in their recent charter, goes on to declare that, out of his earnest desire to encourage the said Company in their difficult and hazardous trade and traffic in those remote parts of the world, His Majesty grants to them the whole of his rights in the said port and island of Bombay, and constitutes them "the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors" thereof, "to be holden of Us, our heires and Successors, as of the mannor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent, in free and Common Soccage, and not in Capite nor by Knights service, yeilding and paying therefore to Us, our heires and Successors, at the

Custome House, London, the rent or summe of tenn pounds of lawfull money of England, in gold, on the thirtyeth day of September yearly for ever." Provision is made that the rights of the existing inhabitants shall be respected and that they shall be allowed (as required by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty) the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion ; also that the Company shall not sell or part with any portion of the island to a foreign state or individual. All warlike stores, ships, merchandise, cattle, etc., now on the island are freely bestowed on the Company, who are charged to fit out one or more vessels as soon as possible to take possession. The salaries and wages of the garrison, as well as all charges of government, are to be paid by the Crown up to the time of the actual transfer ; but should the Company fail to take possession before Michaelmas, 1668, the cost from that date is to fall upon them. Permission is given to enlist as many of the officers and men of the present garrison as may be willing to remain, the rest to be brought home at the expense of the Company. The latter may, at any of their General Courts, enact laws for the good government of the island and impose penalties for their infraction. The Governors or other officers appointed by them are authorized to repel by force any attack upon the island, and to exercise martial law in cases of necessity. By another clause it is declared that all British subjects dwelling at Bombay, and all their children and posterity, shall enjoy as full privileges and liberties as if they had been abiding or born in England. And finally the powers hereby conferred on the Company are extended to any other settlements or possessions which they shall hereafter acquire.

Under the terms of this grant Bombay was taken over by the Company's representative on September 23, 1668. For a time it was placed under Surat, the President at the latter place being constituted Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, and administering the island through a Deputy Governor. Thanks, however, to the security of its position, the advantages of its noble harbour, and the strong and honest government of the new owners, Bombay rose so rapidly in importance that in 1687 it became the headquarters of the Western Presidency. Beyond that point we cannot here pursue its history.

F.



Sunt autem in quibusdam

[illegible]

THE GRANT OF ST. HELENA.

The island of St. Helena—now chiefly remembered as the prison and place of death of the great Napoleon—lies in the South Atlantic Ocean, four thousand miles away from our shores. It is a lonely spot, for the nearest land (the little island of Ascension) is 700 miles off, while Africa on the one hand and America on the other are respectively 1,140 and 1,800 miles distant from it. The island, which is about the size of Jersey, is fertile and healthy, and its position in the track of vessels returning from the East Indies made it in the old days a regular port of call. Needless to say, the inhabitants did not fail to improve the occasion by selling their fruit and vegetables at rates never dreamt of in Covent Garden.

It was first discovered by the Portuguese under João da Nova in May, 1501. The earliest English ship to call there was Cavendish's (1588), when that daring navigator was returning from his voyage round the world. Later on it was regularly visited by English, Dutch and Portuguese vessels homewards bound; but the island was first definitely appropriated by a European power in 1633, when Jacques Specx took possession of it (April 15, N.S.) in the name of the States General. In 1652, however, the Dutch transferred their settlement to the Cape, and a little later some ships of the East India Company, finding it deserted, took possession in the name of this country. Some sort of a fortification was erected in 1658 by Captain Dutton, and this—the Company having been authorized by the charter of 1661 to fortify the island—was soon after improved into "Fort James," so named in honour of the Duke of York. The Dutch are said to have captured St. Helena in 1665, and to have been expelled in the same year, but the facts are obscure. What is certain is that they made themselves masters of the island in January, 1673, the garrison and settlers effecting their escape to the coast of Brazil. A sloop which they had stationed to warn English vessels of the capture fell in with Captain Richard Munden, who had been sent with a small squadron to convoy homeward-bound Indiamen. He at once determined to attempt the recovery of the island. Arriving there in the middle of May, he succeeded in landing a party of seamen under Lieutenant Keigwin at Prosperous Bay, and these attacked the Dutch in the rear while the ships cannonaded them from the sea, with the result that they speedily surrendered. A local tradition long current credited Munden with an extraordinary manœuvre. It was said that he ran his vessel close to the shore and sent his sailors to climb along the spritsail yard on to the overhanging rocks; but although this might conceivably have been done (for in 1820 a ship broke her jibboom against the cliffs without her keel touching bottom) the story is quite unsupported by evidence.

After capturing three Dutch ships, which sailed into what they took to be a friendly port but found it a hostile one instead, Munden departed for England, leaving Keigwin in charge of the island with a prize crew of about a hundred and sixty men.

On reaching London Munden was rewarded for his services with a knighthood and a grant of 2,500/.

The recapture of St. Helena by the King's forces extinguished any rights possessed by the East India Company; but at their request His Majesty made a formal grant of the island to them by Letters Patent dated December 16, 1673 (not 1674, as printed on the plate). The wording of this document (of the first sheet of which we here give a reduced facsimile) follows in many respects that of the grant of Bombay, which we have already summarized. The island was to be held, like Bombay, as of the royal manor of Greenwich, but in this case no rent was demanded. The concession was of a most ample nature, for it included not only all that was on the island but also any gold, silver or precious stones that might be found therein, and the fishes in the seas around. The Company was permitted to send out soldiers and settlers, and to export duty free any provisions, clothing, warlike stores, etc., that might be found necessary. They were given full administrative and legislative powers, and were authorized to inflict any reasonable punishment, including the death penalty for serious offences.

There is a minute of the grant of this charter among the Domestic State Papers at the Public Record Office (*Entry Book* 40, p. 132) under date of November 20, 1673; also a warrant, dated the 23rd of the following month, ordering the King's commander-in-chief at St. Helena to surrender the island to the Company (*Ibid.*, p. 143).

The subsequent history of St. Helena was mostly of an unexciting nature, except for occasional mutinies of the slaves or the soldiers. It came prominently into notice in 1815, when "General Napoleon Buonaparte"—as the vanquished Emperor was officially styled—landed there as a state prisoner. From that date until his death six years later, the island was garrisoned by royal troops and was under a Governor selected by the Crown. Its administration then reverted to the East India Company, but not for long. The India Act of 1833 provided amongst other things for the transfer of St. Helena to the Crown from April, 1834. The actual transfer, however, did not take place until March, 1836.

The island has since steadily declined in wealth and importance, largely owing to changed conditions of navigation. The substitution of steam for sails has made vessels independent of stopping places of this character, and comparatively few now call there. During the recent hostilities in South Africa it was utilised as a place of detention for Boer prisoners, and the money thus brought into the island revived for a short time its prosperity; but this soon passed, and now that the Imperial Government has withdrawn the garrison the outlook is far from promising. The most hopeful prospect is that the island may become a winter health resort, as the climate is said to be better than that of Madeira for invalids.

It is curious to note that nearly a century ago St. Helena had a "Chinese labour question." In 1810 fifty indentured Chinamen were imported from Hong Kong as agricultural labourers, and the results were found to be so satisfactory that at one time the Chinese establishment on the island had grown to nearly six hundred and fifty. Later on this number was reduced; but the final outcome of the experiment is not recorded.

F.



in the name of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith **Do** All to whom these presents shall come Greeting **Whereas** at the humble suits of our wellbelov'd Subjects the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies and for the honor and Profit of His our Realme in and the encouragement of Trade into these remote parts We have by our Royall Charter or Letters Patents under bearing date the third day of April in the thirtieth yeare of our heighe Granted unto the said a Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies and their Successors that they and their Successors and their Factors Servants and Assignes in the Trade of Merchandise for them and on their behalf and not otherwise shall for ever have use and enjoy the whole entire and only Trade and Traffique and the whole entire and only liberty use and priviledge of Trading and Traffique and using the steate and Trade in of Merchandise to and from the said East Indies and to and from all the Islands Ports Havens Cities Townes and Places within there said Charter that is to say to and from the said East Indies in the Countries and Parts of a

Asia and Africa and to and from the Islands Ports Havens Cities Creeks Townes and Places of Asia Africa and America or any of them beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan where any Trade or Traffique of Merchandise may be used or used and that it should and might be lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company and their Successors from time to time and at all times hereafter to erect and build such Castles fortifications ports Harbours and to erect such Colonies and make such a Plantations at Santa Helena as also else where within the Limits and Boundes of Trade Granted unto the said Governor and Company as aforesaid as they in their discrecion should thinke fit and requisite And for the supplying of such as should be requisite to keep or be in the said Kingdomes to the said Castles fortifications ports Harbours Colonies or Plantations All kind of Clothing Provision or Victuals Ammunition and Supplements necessary for such purposes without paying of any Customs Subsidy or other Duty for the same As also to Transport and Carry over such Number of Men being willing to serve as they shall thinke fit And also to Govern them in such leaith and reasonable manner as the said Governor and Company should thinke fit and to inflict punishment for misdemeanors or impose such fines upon them for breach of their Orders as in our said Charter are expressed **And Whereas** also by our said Royall Charter or Letters Patents We have Granted that there shall be a Governor and twenty fower Councillors of the said Company to be Chosen and appointed in such forme as therein is expressed who shall have power from time to time the direction of the Voyages of and for the said Company And the Provision of the Shipping and Merchandise thereunto belonging and also the sale of all Merchandise Goods and other things returned in all or any of the Voyages or Ships of or for the said Company And the managing and handling of all other Business Affaires and things belonging to the said Company and likewise that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company for the time being or the major part of them present at any publick Assembly to choose called the Court Generall holden for the said Company the said Governor of the said Company being always one from time to time to Chose a Mountaine and appoint one of the said Company to be the Deputy to the said Governor from time to time in the absence of the said Governor shall exercise and execute the office of Governor of the said Company in such sort as the said Governor ought to doe As by our said Charter or Letters Patents reference being thereunto had among divers other Grante Liberties Immunities Priviledges and Preheminentes may more fully appear **And Whereas** in pursuance of our said Royall Charter the said Governor and a Company did at their owne Cost and Charge erect several forts and fortifications at Santa Helena aforesaid being an Island in the Atlantic in or neere Africa beyond the Line and on this side the Cape Point Speranza and place a Garrison there and were a proceeding to Plant and People the same And for that purpose had transported divers of our Subjects who were willing thereto to inhabit there But our said Subjects inhabiting on the said Island were lately in time of Warre betwene us and the States of the United Provinces by force of Armes dispossessed thereof by the Subjects and forces of the said States and the said States or their Subjects had and kept the quiet possession thereof for severall Monethes together **And Whereas** by the Blessing of God on our Royall Ships and Forces under the Command of Captaine Richard Munday the said Island and all and a singular the forts fortifications and other the Appurtenances thereunto belonging were retaken from the said States and their Subjects and a Garrison of our Subjects placed there By vertue or reason whereof the said Island and all and singular the forts fortifications Fortresses and Building thereof with the Appurtenances are rest in us our heires and Successors in the Right of our Realme And all the Artillery Armes Ammunition Ordnance Munition Magazines Stores Goods Chattells and Moveables whatsover which were there found at the time our said Forces retake the same as aforesaid doo right belong unto us and to no other **And Whereas** the said Island hath been found by experience to be very convenient and a commodious for our loving Subjects the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies for the refreshing of their Servants and People in their Returnes homewards being often then weak and decayed in their healths by reason of their long Voyages under most hot Climes Whereupon our said Subjects the said Governor and Company have besought us to we regard and conserve the same unto them **Now Knowe** that forasmuch as we have found by much experience that the said Island and the said Indies hath been managed by the said Governor and Company to the honor and profit of His our Realme and to the content and comfort of our carnegl Subjects that the said Governor and Company may by all good lawfull wayes and means be encouraged in their difficult and hazardous Trade and Traffique in those remote parts of the World **We therefore** of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meer motion have Given Granted and Comfirmed And by these presents doo Give our heires and Successors in a



THE GRANT FOR COINAGE AT BOMBAY.

Among the many problems that confronted the Company's officials on their taking over the administration of Bombay was that of the currency. So long as the island was under Portuguese rule the money in use was a medley of the Mogul rupee and pice, the ancient larin of the west coast, and the xeraphin and bazarucco of Goa. The last-mentioned, a tin or lead coin of the smallest denomination, seems to have been the most extensively used and was very popular. Obviously there was no reason why the English should countenance the circulation of Portuguese and other foreign money in their new possession; and on the other hand there were many good grounds (including the profit to be derived from mintage) for endeavouring to substitute a currency of their own. Writing on February 22, 1671, to the President and Council at Surat, the Company, after making various suggestions for the improvement of Bombay, say: "Wee doe thinck it convenient for us to have a coyne of our owne there. Wee would have you therefore consider of such a coyne, soe as it bee not our Kings Majesties or any stampe resembling the same, and of such sorts as will best suite with the traffique and exchange of the country, both in bigger and lesser speties. And if you shall find it necessary to have for change a small sort of copper coyne, let it apeare to be what it is; but what you shall coyne of gold or silver, let it have an intrinsique value as to what it is stampd for, that it may be to our honnor and the begetting and preserving the esteeme thereof. But wee would not have you coyne any copper or other inferiour mettall before you coyne gold or silver, for to begin with that would be a disparagement to us." That these instructions were duly carried out is shown by a letter, dated December 21, 1672, addressed to the Company by President Aungier and his colleagues. In this they say that they had intended a considerable coinage of silver, but urgent demands from Surat had forced them to send the bulk of the treasure thither, "reserving onely just soe much as should begin the mint, in order to the carrying it on the more successively next year. We have also begun the mint for copper and tynn, which is of great and absolutely necessary use for your island. Wee began first with silver, haveing received noe gold of yours this year. We had often serious debate, and tooke the best advise we could of the banians, sheroffs, and others that could direct us; and have concluded that the gold and silver coyne shall be exactly in weight and finenesse equall with the rupee of Surratt. The reason is because they will vend the more currantly in the neighbouring countrys of the Portuguese, Sevagee and Decan, and in time probably passe as currantly in payments, which will be a notable accommodation to the trade of the island, if we can bring it soe about. As to the stampe we have concluded them [*in copy*: that for the gold, silver and copper] to be as followeth: on the one side the Honourable Company's armes, with this inscription within a circle incloseing the armes: *Honorabilis Societas Anglicana Indiarum Orientalium*, writ in short; on the other side within the inward circle is engraven *Moneta Bombayae Anglicani Regiminis Anno Septimo*, and within the outward circle is inscribed thes

words: *A Deo Pax et Incrementum*. The names of the coyne are thus: the gold is called *Carolina*, in remembrance of our Kings Majesty, and weighs [blank]; the silver is called *Anglina* [Angliana in copy], from the name of our nation, and weighs [blank; 11½ mas in copy]; the copper coyne is called *copperoon*, and weighs [blank; tolas 1, 2 mass in copy]; the tyn is called *tinny*. We designedly give the coyne's English names, for in this and all things else we endeavour to enure the people to and teach them the English tongue, and to disuse also the Portuguese as much as we can, which will be a worke of long time, because these people have been long accustomed thereunto. Eleven *tynnys* make one *copperoon*; [blank; 48 in copy] *copperoons* makes one *Anglina* [Angliana in copy]; which is the currant rate at present between the rupee, pice and buzerook. This mint, when thoroughly settled, we hope will raise a considerable advance to the revenue. . . . We send your Honors tenne pieces of silver, tenne pieces of copper, and tenne of tinn for your satisfaccion, desireing that if you doe not like the stampe, that you would please to signifie how you would have it altered, and we shall conforme accordingly." From another letter we learn that the actual coinage was not begun before the 28th of the previous September, when Aungier informed the Surat Council that a chest of silver had been kept back for this purpose. The date of the first Bombay rupee is therefore narrowed down to the last three months of 1672; and this explains the reference on the coin itself to "the seventh year of English rule," since, as the reader is aware, the transfer of the island took place in 1665.

What the Company at home thought of the new coinage we do not know. We infer, however, that some doubt was expressed as to the right of their servants to coin and issue money without specific authority from the Crown; and that to obviate all risks they decided to secure formal permission. This was effected by the insertion of a clause in the charter of which we reproduce the first sheet. The document is dated the 5th October in the 28th year of the reign (wrongly interpreted on the plate as 1677 instead of 1676) and, amongst other concessions which do not here concern us, gives to the Company full power to coin in Bombay and its precincts moneys of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, or any mixed metal compounded of these, to be current in the East Indies and to be called rupees, pices and budgrooks, or by any other names the Company may appoint, provided they are not the names of any coins current in the King's dominions.

The right of the Company to establish their own coinage at Bombay having thus been assured, they wrote to Surat, under date of March 7, 1677, to proceed accordingly. "His Majestie," they said, "hath been graciously pleased to grant us the libertie of coining at Bombay, and wee intended to send you out stamps and direccions for it by these ships, but we could not gett them cutt in time, but you may expect them by the next. In the meane while you may goe on coining as you doe at present." In the same year a rupee was struck at Bombay bearing the royal arms of England with the legend: "By authority of Charles the Second"; and thenceforward all three denominations of rupees, pice and budgrooks appear to have been issued regularly.

F.

[illegible][illegible]

THE CHARTER OF 1693.

Macaulay has described with his usual brilliancy the rapid growth of the East India Company's trade during the reigns of the last two Stuart kings, the jealousy excited by the immense profits that resulted—profits that went mostly to a small ring of wealthy stock-holders—and the efforts made, both within and without the Company, to widen its basis or break down its monopoly, in order to admit a larger section of the nation to a participation in this golden commerce. In these circumstances it was natural that the bulk of the existing shareholders should endeavour to defend the privileged position in which they found themselves; and under the astute guidance of Sir Josia Child the Company, once a Whig body, drew closer and closer to the Crown, relying upon its royal charters and the goodwill of the sovereign to protect it from all attacks. For a time this policy was successful, and the monopolists were able to defy their adversaries. But then came the Revolution and the triumph of the Whigs; and it soon became evident that the Company would have to struggle hard to maintain its position. Its opponents formed themselves into an association, popularly known as the "New Company," and under the direction of a Committee commenced an active propaganda for the abrogation of the Company's privileges. Both parties appealed to the House of Commons, with the result that in January, 1690, a Committee appointed by the House recommended the establishment of a new Company and a new Joint Stock by Act of Parliament; but before any steps could be taken to this end the Parliament was dissolved. In the new one a bill was introduced, continuing the existing Company, but doubling its capital so as to admit the members of the rival association. To this Child and his colleagues offered a most determined resistance, and the bill was abandoned; whereupon the Commons, in their irritation, presented an address to the King urging him to dissolve the Company and to grant a charter for a new one on any terms he might see fit to impose. As Macaulay observes, the request plainly implied a recognition of the sovereign's competence to grant an exclusive charter for the India trade—a competence which had hitherto been strenuously denied by the "New Company's" adherents.

This was in February, 1692. In November the King informed the House that he had referred the matter to the Judges, who had pointed out that under the existing charter the Company could not be dissolved without three years' notice. After much debate, the Commons in February, 1693, presented an address begging that this notice might be given; but His Majesty replied ambiguously that he would bear the matter in mind, and the subject then dropped for the remainder of the session. The Old Company, however, was seriously alarmed lest the demand should be complied with and the dreaded notice given. We may judge, therefore, of their consternation when it was discovered (April, 1693) that they had inadvertently forfeited their charter. By an Act recently passed a tax had been laid on the capital of the three great Joint Stock Companies, the first instalment of which was to be paid by March 25, 1693, on pain

of the forfeiture of their charters. By the negligence of someone at the India House payment was not made at the appointed date, and the Company's privileges *ipso facto* disappeared. The incident is so extraordinary that a recent writer has suggested that the omission was intentional, the purpose being to obtain a new royal charter with which to defy further Parliamentary interference; but it is hard to see how such a grant would have bettered the Company's position, and as a matter of fact they only obtained a renewal of their privileges by agreeing to much against which they had been vigorously fighting. By dint of lavish bribery the Ministry was induced to direct the Attorney-General to draw up a new charter. Instantly there was an outcry from the "New Company," who boldly denied the right of the Crown to make a grant of this kind without the concurrence of Parliament. The question was debated before the Privy Council, presided over by Lord Carmarthen, who had secretly received a large sum from the Company's treasury. It was decided that the Crown had the power to make the grant, and on October 7, 1693, the charter was sealed. In spite, however, of the bribes which had found their way into the pockets of Ministers, it was felt to be impossible to advise the King to renew the grant without making some concessions to the Company's opponents, and the Directors reluctantly acquiesced in some very important modifications. By a supplementary charter, issued on the 11th of the following month, it was ordered that the capital of the Company should be doubled (as proposed in the bill which Child had succeeded in defeating), but that no new subscriber should take more than 10,000*l.* of stock. Members of the Company were to have one vote for each 1,000*l.* of stock, but at the same time none, whatever his holding, could claim more than ten votes. All persons qualified by former regulations, or subscribing to the new issue, were to be admitted gratis, and others might purchase their freedom for five pounds.

The reduced facsimiles here given comprise the whole of the charter of October 7. As will be seen, the ornamental bordering and the initial portraits of the King and Queen have disappeared, while the specimen of the Great Seal has been considerably damaged.

F.

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Rev. Dr. of Divinity School

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THE SUBSCRIPTION TO THE 1698 LOAN.

The charter of 1693 by no means settled the East India question. Within a few months the Company rashly pushed matters to extremity by procuring the detention of a vessel in the Thames on the mere suspicion that she was intended for the Eastern seas, though her ostensible destination was Alicante. This roused the general indignation of the mercantile community, and brought on a Parliamentary struggle which ended in a unanimous vote of the Commons that all subjects of England had equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament. The effect of this resolution was to deprive the Company of its power to stop private traders from openly setting out ships for India, and many interlopers took advantage of the opening thus afforded. It was generally recognised that such a state of things was unsatisfactory and that a joint stock monopoly was after all the best mode of carrying on the trade. The two rival associations, however, were hopelessly antagonistic, each striving to induce the Government to allot to it the desired concession, and trusting that some turn of the political wheel would bring about the fulfilment of its wishes. At last in 1698 came the crisis. Montague, the able statesman who presided over the Treasury, finding it necessary to raise an eight per cent. loan for two millions, determined to ensure the success of the operation by offering the Indian trade as a bonus to the subscribers; and on July 5 an Act to this effect received the royal assent. The plan was rather a complex one, for it was desirable to conciliate both those who wished for a joint stock company and those who were clamouring for a looser form of association which would permit individual trading. It was therefore arranged that all the subscribers to the new loan should be first of all enrolled in a corporation to be called the General Society, each member of which might trade to the East to the extent annually of the amount he had contributed; but it was also provided that any of these might then, if they chose, forego this privilege and be incorporated under a royal charter for the purpose of trading in a joint stock.

The loan proved a great success. The subscription list was opened at Mercers' Hall on July 14. Macaulay thus describes the scene:—"An immense crowd was already collected in the street. As soon as the doors were flung wide, wealthy citizens, with their money in their hands, pressed in, pushing and elbowing each other. The guineas were paid down faster than the clerks could count them. Before night six hundred thousand pounds had been subscribed. The next day the throng was as great. More than one capitalist put down his name for thirty thousand pounds. To the astonishment of those ill boding politicians who were constantly repeating that the war, the debt, the taxes, the grants to Dutch courtiers, had ruined the kingdom, the sum, which it had been doubted whether England would be able to raise in many weeks, was subscribed by London in a few hours. The applications from the provincial towns and rural districts came too late. The merchants of Bristol had intended to take three hundred thousand pounds of the stock, but had waited to learn how the

subscription went on before they gave their final orders; and by the time the mail had gone down to Bristol and returned, there was no more stock to be had."

The books in which the subscriptions were entered are now in the India Office, and with their long lists of names form a most valuable record of the leaders of the monied classes at the close of the seventeenth century. We give a facsimile of the first page. The opening entry is one of 10,000*l.* subscribed by the four Lords of the Treasury (Montague himself, Sir Stephen Fox, Mr. John Smith, and Sir Thomas Littleton) on behalf of King William. All four put down their names also on their own behalfs—Montague venturing 5,000*l.*, Fox 4,000*l.*, and the others 2,000*l.* each. Fox's name appears again as subscribing 2,000*l.* for his son, Charles Fox, the Paymaster of the Forces. Then we have several of the nobility, amongst them the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Portland, the Earl of Montagu, the Earl of Ranelagh and the Earl of Orford (better known as Admiral Russell, the victor of La Hogue). The seals and signatures beneath are those of seven of the commissioners appointed to superintend the reception of the subscriptions.

Another sheet is remarkable for one entry, about the middle of the page: "I, John Du Bois, doe subscribe for 315,000*l.*" This in itself would occasion no remark, though perhaps some surprise might be felt that an individual should be in a position to underwrite so considerable a sum. As a matter of fact, there was a deep significance in this innocent-looking entry. Du Bois was the cashier of the Old Company, and it was on their behalf that he made the subscription. At a General Court of that body held on July 13 their Special Committee was authorized to subscribe to the new loan any amount it might deem necessary. Apparently action was delayed until it was clear that the subscription would be a success; but at another Court held on July 19 the Governor announced that the Committee had, "upon serious debate and consideration of the Company's affairs, caused Mr. John Du Bois, their Cashire, on Friday night last to make a subscription of 315,000 pounds in the books lying open at Mercers' Hall." It may seem strange that the subscription was not made in the name of the Company itself, since the Act expressly authorized corporations (other than the Bank of England) to participate in the loan. But it must be remembered that the Company was at this time under sentence of death, and there might be legal difficulties in the way of transferring their trading rights. From other entries we learn that Du Bois executed a deed of trust in respect of the money standing in his name, and no doubt the interests of the members were carefully guarded. By this bold stroke the existing Company gained the right to trade independently to the extent of 315,000*l.* annually; and as in April, 1700, they succeeded in procuring an Act of Parliament continuing them as a corporation under their old name, they were soon in as strong a position as ever. There was now but one satisfactory solution possible, and that was a coalition between the rival associations. As everyone knows, this sensible step was taken a few years later, the Old Company being practically absorbed into the New.

F.

The 14th July 1698

This Booke doth conteyne the Subscriptions Authorized to be taken in Pursuant aswell of An Act of Parliament entitled an Act for Raiseing a Sume not exceeding two Millions upon a Fund for Payment of Annuities after the rate of Eight Pounds pr Cent pr Ann. and for settling the Trade to the East Indies as of his Maj^{ties} Commission or Letters Patents bearing Date y^e Fourteenth Day of July in y^e Tenth Yeare of his Reigne. of y^e respective Sums w^{ch} y^e severall persons Natives or Forreigners, Booyes polilick & Corporate whose Names are written herein have sett or caused to be sett against their Names respectively together with the severall Dayes upon which & the respective Com^{rs}: before whom y^e same were soe Subscribed

July 15 th 1698	1	W ^{ch} is The Commissioners of the Treasury do subscribe for his Majestie Ten Thousand Pounds	10000
July 15 th 1698	2	J ^{as} Montague Esq ^r do subscribe for five thousand pounds	5000
July 15 th 1698	3	J ^{as} Cecil doe subscribe for one thousand pounds	1000
July 15 th 1698	4	J ^{as} Richard Earl of Beaulieu do subscribe three thousand pounds	3000
July 15 th 1698	5	J ^{as} Charles Montague do subscribe for thousand pounds	5000
July 15 th 1698	6	J ^{as} J ^{as} de la Roche do subscribe four thousand pounds	4000
July 15 th 1698	7	J ^{as} John Smith do subscribe two thousand pounds	2000
July 15 th 1698	8	J ^{as} Thomas Tallen doe subscribe two thousand pounds	2000
July 14 th 1698	9	J ^{as} John Smith of St ^{ts} B ^{ts} do subscribe for William Earl of Portland Ten thousand pounds	10000
July 14 th 1698	10	J ^{as} James Vernon do subscribe for his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury five thousand pounds	5000
July 14 th 1698	11	J ^{as} James Vernon do subscribe for my self two thousand pounds	2000
July 15 th 1698	12	J ^{as} J ^{as} de la Roche do subscribe for my self two thousand pounds	2000
July 15 th 1698	13	J ^{as} Charles Spencer do subscribe five hundred pounds	500
July 15 th 1698	14	J ^{as} James Forbes do subscribe one thousand pounds	1000
July 15 th 1698	15	J ^{as} Samuel Green doe subscribe for my self one thousand pounds	1000
July 15 th 1698	16	J ^{as} Charles Montague do subscribe for John Smith Esq ^r two thousand pounds	2000
July 15 th 1698	17	J ^{as} William Blathwayt do subscribe for my self two thousand pounds	2000
July 15 th 1698	18	J ^{as} James Kendall do subscribe for my self two thousand pounds	2000
July 15 th 1698	19	J ^{as} And ^r Corbett doe subscribe for the R ^{ts} Hon ^{ble} Earl of Oxford Six thousand pounds	6000
July 15 th 1698	20	J ^{as} Che Montague doe subscribe four thousand pounds	4000
July 16 th 1698	21	J ^{as} Henry Lord Herbert of Chisbury do subscribe one thousand pounds	1000
The Subscriptions contained in this Table were severally made in y ^e presence of us according to y ^e severall dates in y ^e Table			69500

69500
Richard Manning Saml. Geo. White

THE CHARTER OF THE NEW COMPANY.

As we have already seen, the Act for raising the new loan and "for settling a trade to the East Indies" contemplated the issue of two royal charters, one for incorporating all the subscribers into a "General Society intituled to the advantages given" by the Act, and the other for making a fresh incorporation of such members of that body as desired to unite in a joint stock. Drafts of both charters were attached to the letters patent (now among the Parchment Records in the India Office) appointing commissioners to receive subscriptions to the loan; and doubtless these documents were on view when the books were opened at Mercers' Hall. The first of the promised grants was made on September 3, 1698; but its contents do not here concern us. A few of the subscribers, representing a total of about 22,000*l.* in stock, preferred to trade separately; while of course the Old Company, with its subscription of 315,000*l.*, held aloof from the rest. The vast majority, however, of the participants in the loan decided to accept the proffered incorporation and to trade in a joint stock on the old lines. Provision had been made at the time of the subscription for ascertaining the wishes of the various applicants in this respect, for those who wished to be included in the joint stock were required to enter their names on a long roll which is still preserved at the India Office (see Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, Second Reprint, 1891, p. 271). On September 5, therefore, a royal charter was sealed, constituting those members of the General Society who elected to come into the joint stock a corporate body under the title of "The English Company Trading to the East Indies," with a capital composed of the sums lent by the members to the Government, plus any additional amount raised for purposes of trade. The Company was authorized to trade annually to the extent of its contribution to the loan, that is to say, each year it might export goods and bullion to the full amount of its debt from Government. One-tenth at least of these exports must be "goods of the growth, product, or manufacture of this our Kingdom of England," and a yearly account of such goods, duly attested, was to be laid before the Privy Council. The management of the Company was entrusted to twenty-four "Directors," each holding not less than 2,000*l.* stock, elected yearly by proprietors of 500*l.* stock. Under the old system a "Governor" had been an integral part of the administration, and his appointment had been provided for by the charter. (The full title of the association was "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies," just as we still have "The Governor and Company of the Bank of England.") In the new grant no mention was made of any such officer, the Directors being left to do as they pleased. Hence, while in the Old Company a Governor and Deputy Governor had always been elected by the Generality from outside the ranks of the "Committees," in the New the "Chairman" and "Deputy Chairman" were simply two of the Directors chosen by their colleagues to preside over them. Four "Quarterly Courts" were to be summoned in each year; and any nine members (qualified by the possession of not less than 500*l.*

stock apiece) might demand the calling of a special Court. Arrangements were made for the proper keeping of the Company's accounts, and facilities were to be afforded to the members to inspect them at stated periods. The Company might license private trade on the part of its servants, and might also, if it pleased, permit other persons to trade in jewels and similar commodities. All merchandise was to be sold as heretofore "by inch of candle," and no lot (jewels excepted) was to exceed 1,000*l.* in value. A quantity of saltpetre was to be supplied to the Crown at cost price. Several oaths of office were prescribed, though by a special clause Quakers were allowed to make an affirmation instead. Provision was made for the erection of Courts of Judicature in India. A chaplain was to be sent in every ship of 500 tons burden (with the result that the Company developed a great fondness for vessels of 499 tons), while St. Helena and the chief factories in India were to be supplied with schoolmasters and ministers. The latter were to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, and it was laid down that they must apply themselves to learning the Portuguese and native tongues—not for purposes of proselytising, but in order that they might instruct the servants and slaves of the Company in the Protestant religion.

Such are the contents of this important grant. The original, which fills twenty-two skins of parchment, is still preserved at the India Office, and is in excellent condition, though only a portion of the Great Seal remains. It was the last of the fundamental charters. Parliament had now established its right to control the terms on which the India trade was to be carried on, and henceforth any important change in the constitution of the Company required the definite sanction of the Legislature.

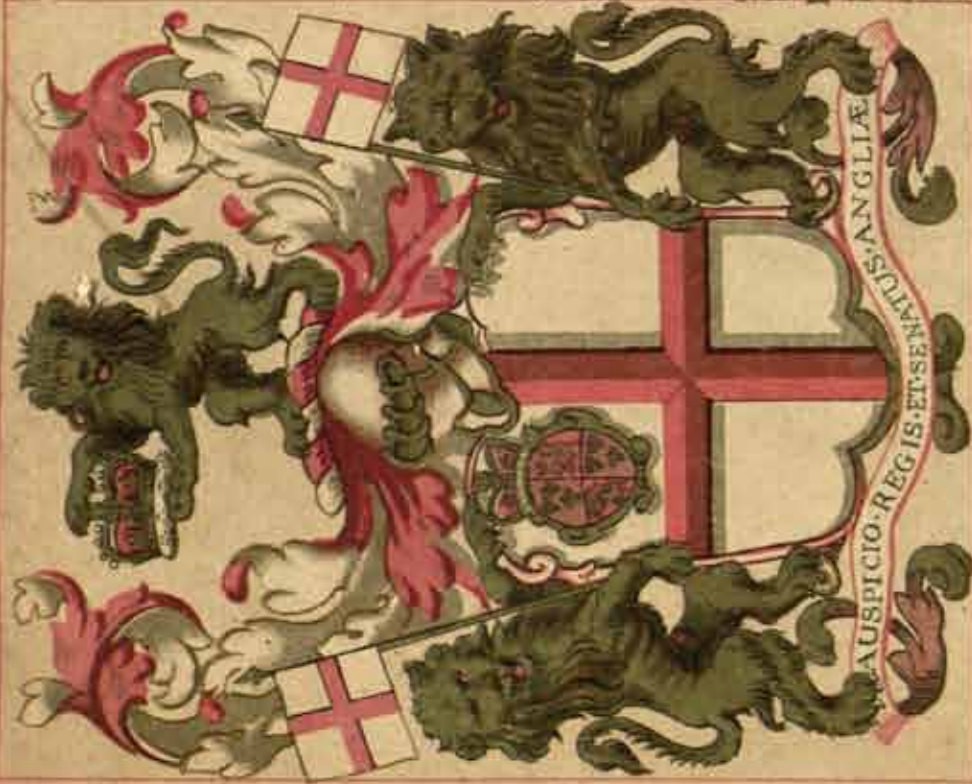
F.

THE GRANT OF ARMS TO THE NEW COMPANY.

The new East India Company established by Act of Parliament in 1698 could not of course use the arms which had been granted to the old Company, as the latter was still in existence. However, it lost very little time in providing itself with a coat, for the official grant (here reproduced) is dated in the month following the charter of incorporation. As will be seen, it recites the founding of the Company and the application of the Directors "that such ensigns, viz. arms, crest and supporters, may be devised for and assigned to the said Company as may most eminently manifest His Majesties princely favour and distinguish the said corporation by marks of honor suitable to the grandeur of the same, the King's Most Excellent Majesty and divers of the Nobility being members thereof." Thereupon, we are informed, the Duke of Norfolk, by a warrant dated September 30, 1698, directed Sir Thomas St. George, Garter, and Sir Henry St. George, Clarenceux, to devise and assign suitable arms accordingly. This they now proceeded to do under their hands and seals (the latter have disappeared from the document). The arms are then described in heraldic language. Briefly, they consisted of a shield bearing St. George's cross on a white ground, with the royal arms in the upper right hand quarter. The supporters are land lions (in contrast with the sea lions of the Old Company) bearing standards of St. George; and the crest is also a lion, standing upon a helm and carrying a royal crown. The motto underneath is *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliae*—a clever intimation that the Company's privileges rested alike on a royal charter and an Act of Parliament.

As we have seen, the arms of the Old Company ceased to be used when the Company itself expired. The "United Company" adopted the escutcheon granted to the "English East India Company"; and it was therefore under the arms here portrayed that the chain of English factories on the Indian peninsula grew into an Anglo-Indian empire. An interesting memorial of them may be seen to-day in the India Office at Westminster, gracing a small recess in the southern corridor on the first floor, viz. the wooden coat-of-arms which stood formerly behind the Chairman's seat in the Directors' Court Room at the East India House, as is shown in Shepherd's view of that apartment, reproduced in the present volume. Upon the breaking up of the Company's establishment, this was put up to auction with many of the other fittings, and was sold for the sum of 7*l.* 10*s.* Some time after, the escutcheon came into the possession of Mr. Louis Forbes, Madras Civil Service (retired), who, desiring, as he said, to find a suitable resting-place for it, as "a living reminder of the grand East India Company which, though for three decades it has ceased to be the governing power, still lives in the memory and affection of those who served it," presented this interesting relic to the Secretary of State for India in Council (January, 1891). Another reminder of the old armorial bearings may be noticed on many of the chairs brought from the East India House and still in use at the India Office. This is the crest, namely, the lion with a crown in his paws—a figure which the irreverent youngsters of the Indian Navy used to denominate "The Cat and Cheese."

F.



In all and Singular to whom these Letters shall come
S^t Thomas S^t George Kn^t Garter Principal King of Arms, and S^t Henry S^t George Kn^t
Clarendon, Lord of the Treasury, Whose favour and favour, Majesty has been graciously
granted by his Royal Charter under the Great Seal of England bearing date the fifth day of September in the tenth Year of
his Majesty Queen to incorporate several of his Subjects in pursuance of an Act of Parliament (intituled Body of
Law, and Corporate, by the Name of the English Company Trading to the East Indies in a joint Stock, whereby
they are Enabled to have a perpetual Succession, and a Common Seal, with many other Privileges, and Immunities, as
by the said Act, and Charter, both more plainly appear: and Whereas Edward Allen, Abraham Beake, Lane
Bateman John Cary Esq^r, S^t Henry Furness Kn^t Peter Godfrey, Peter Gou, Gilbert Heathcote, Edmund
Harrison Esq^r, S^t Theodore Janßen Kn^t, Samuel Lock Edward Laitton, Joseph Martin, Sirey William
Maiter, Ephraim Mountague, Peter Paggen, Robert Raworth, Benjamin Rokely, Samuel Shephard
Esq^r, S^t William Scawen Kn^t, William Stewart, Thomas Vernon, William Willers, and George White-
Cquires; Directors of the said English Company, trading to the East Indies in a joint Stock, have made Appli-
cation to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, to be their Highness of England etc. That such Privileges, and Immunities, as
such, Arms, Crest, and Supporters, as they, and their Successors may lawfully bear, and use, and that they, and their Successors, may be
in possession of the said Coat of Arms, Order, and Crest, signified by the said Garter, and that they, and their Successors, may be
each of them respectively Granted under the Great Seal of England, and that they, and their Successors, may be
and Conform to the said English Company Trading to the East Indies in a joint Stock, and to their Successors forever, the Arms, Crest, and Supporters
hereafter mentioned Viz. Argent a Cross Gules in a Shield in the Dexter Quarter the Arms of France, and England Quarterly within a Compartment
Or, holding between his Paws an Imperial Crown; and for their Crest, upon a Helme, an A Torse or Wreath Argent and Gules, a Lyon Rampant Gilt
Or, holding between his Paws an Imperial Crown proper, Mantled Gules, Doubled Argent, Supported by two Lyons Guardant Gold,
and each of them holding a Banner Argent, charged with a Cross Gules; as in the Margent hereof is more plainly Depicted In Witness
whereof we the said Garter, and Clarendon, Kings of Arms, have to these Privileges subscribed our Names, and Affixed the Seals of our respective
Offices the Thirtieth day of October, in the Tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord WILLIAM the third by the Grace of God
King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc. Anno Domini 1698.



THE DESPATCH ANNOUNCING THE CAPTURE OF MADRAS.

We have here a facsimile of a letter despatched on October 17, 1746, from Fort St. David (a fortified settlement about a hundred miles south of Madras and fifteen from Pondicheri), conveying to the Company the mortifying intelligence that Fort St. George—then their most important establishment in India—had on the 10th of the preceding month surrendered to a French force under the command of M. La Bourdonnais.

The story of the events leading up to the capture is clear enough from the despatch, and all that is here necessary is to add a running comment. The "Mr. Barnet" whose death is mentioned in the second paragraph was Commodore Barnet, whose ability and energy would probably have given a very different turn to the war had he not been thus prematurely removed from the scene. His successor, Commodore Peyton, though a clever seaman, was unenterprising and overcautious, and the blame for the loss of Madras lies largely at his door. At the same time it must be admitted that he was much hampered by the crazy state of his squadron, especially his flagship, and by the difficulty of keeping the sea during the monsoon months. The French fleet with which he had a skirmish near Negapatam, while on his way to refit at Trincomali, was composed of the nine vessels which La Bourdonnais had managed to fit out at Mauritius for the purpose of attacking the British settlements on the Coromandel Coast. On August 6, having in the meantime refitted his ships, Peyton again appeared off Negapatam, where the French fleet was then lying. La Bourdonnais promptly put out and offered battle; but his adversary would not accept the challenge, and after keeping in touch for three days the English sailed away without having effected anything. Emboldened by this, the enemy's squadron on August 18 anchored off Madras and bombarded the fort and a ship—the *Princess Mary*—which was lying under its guns; but this was only a raid and the French withdrew after doing a very slight amount of damage. Five days later Peyton put into Pulicat, thirty miles to the northwards, where he received intelligence of the attack which had been made on Fort St. George; instead, however, of proceeding at once to the theatre of operations, he sailed away to Bengal, on the plea that it was absolutely necessary again to refit his vessels. La Bourdonnais now determined to lose no time in striking his long meditated blow at the headquarters of British power in Southern India. Proceeding northwards with all the force he could collect, he landed some troops (about two thousand in all) at St. Thomé on September 4, and three days later opened fire on Fort St. George from a mortar battery he had erected on the western side, while his ships cannonaded the eastern face. The Fort was very weak and the garrison a small one; and when on the 8th a fresh battery began to pour in shells from the south, Mr. Morse, the Governor, despairing of relief from any quarter, decided to open negotiations for surrender. After two conferences on the 9th and 10th, with a fresh bombardment between to hasten matters, articles of capitulation were signed; and on the afternoon

of the latter day the English colours were hauled down—for the first time since the Fort was built, more than a century before—and the flag of the Bourbons floated proudly over our principal possession in the East. All the Company's property was confiscated, and the garrison became prisoners of war; but the civilians were left at liberty on parole, and La Bourdonnais undertook to restore the place upon payment of a moderate ransom. This, however, did not at all meet the views of Dupleix, the French Governor-General, who promptly cancelled the agreement; whereupon La Bourdonnais, after an angry contention with his superior, departed with the remains of his fleet, which had been terribly shattered by the storm mentioned with such pious exultation in the despatch. Madras was left in the hands of M. Desprémesnil (the "De Priminey" of the despatch), who was shortly afterwards superseded by M. Paradis. The latter, under orders from Dupleix, sent Governor Morse and his chief officials prisoners to Pondichéri; whereupon several of their subordinates, deeming themselves released from their parole by the annulment of the first treaty, slipped out of Madras and made their way to Fort St. David. Among them was a young writer named Clive, who was destined a few years later to make the French pay dearly for stirring up war in the Carnatic.

To return to our despatch. We find mention made of energetic remonstrances addressed to the Nawab on his permitting the French to seize Madras, when not long before he had interdicted an intended attack on Pondichéri by Commodore Barnet. The Fort St. David authorities intimated that they did not expect any decided action on the part of that ruler; but herein they did him an injustice, for as a matter of fact he despatched an army of ten thousand men to retake Madras. These, however, were easily defeated by the French, and departed quicker than they came. In the prognostication that Fort St. David would soon be attacked in its turn Mr. Hinde and his colleagues were more correct. In December two expeditions were sent against that place, but—largely owing to the help afforded by the Nawab's troops—they were driven back without much difficulty. In the following March, after patching up a peace with the natives, Dupleix sent Paradis to attack the Fort once more. This time, however, fortune favoured the British, for at the critical moment their fleet, now under the command of Admiral Griffin, made its welcome appearance, and at the first sight of this formidable foe the French abandoned the enterprise and retreated to Pondichéri.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Madras remained in the hands of the French until the war was terminated for a time by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (October, 1748), under the terms of which all conquests were to be restored. The retransfer was effected in August, 1749, when Fort St. George once more became the headquarters of the English on the Coromandel Coast.

F.

To the Honourable the Court
of Directors for Affairs of the
Honble the United Company
of Merchants of England
trading to the East Indies

Honourable

The unfortunate Occasion of this Unexpected
Address from us, is to advise your Honours of the Loss of your Valu-
able Settlement of Madras, which to our Unspeakeable Concern
is now in the Possession of our Enemies the French. As the
Gentlemen there seem to think the Absence of his Majesties Squa-
dron which they no doubt depended upon for Assistance great-
ly Conduced to this Misfortune. We shall give an Account only
of what we know for Certainty of their Motions, and leave
your Honours to Form Judgement without presuming to
give any of our Own

The 24th April Mr. Barnett departed this Life
at this Place, when all the Ships were here or near us, but the Win-
chester Lord Thomas Bertie who was Expected daily from Bom-
bay and arrived the 25 May, from which Time Cap^t. Parryton
who then Commanded the Squadron as Senior Captain, deter-
mined on going to refit his Ship the Medway which was very
Leaky at Trincomalay Bay on the Island of Seylone, and to
take the whole Squadron with him, the 30 your Honours Ship
the Princeps Mary arrived on whom we had Orders to send to
Madras what Bales were ready and to receive from Lord
Thomas Bertie 60 Sixty Chests of Treasure brought from Bom-
bay on your Honours Account & to keep what we wanted for
the Use of this Settlement & to send the remainder on the Prin-
ceps Mary, but not to detain her longer in our Road than the
Squadron staid there. In Pursuance of which we kept Sixteen
16 Chests here & Loaded the Remainder on that Ship, and
Prevailed

Prevailed on Captain Payton ^{to stay} till the 9th June, but it hapning to blow
very Fresh at that Time we could not Load more than Two hund-
red and Twenty Two / 222 / Bales which as it has since proved
was very Fortunate. The 9th she sailed to Madras under Convoy
of his Majesties Ship the Lively, as did the rest of the Squadron
for Francomalay. on the 17th Captain Payton wrote M^r Flinde from
Negapatam that as they were Just got to the Bay the Prestons
Bom Spirit was Sprung, that she could Carry no Sail, for which
reason they were obliged to bear away for that Place in order to
refit her, and then return to Francomalay. on the 25th at day break
from the Mast head in Negapatam road, they made several Ships
in the Offin, to which they went out and found them to be Nine / 9 /
French Ships. but the Winds being very light they could not get up
with each other till half past four in the Evening. At which Time
an Engagement began and lasted till about seven when it grew
dark. The next Morning the Two Squadrons were near one another
and Continued so all the day. At four in the Afternoon Cap^t Payton
Summoned a Council of War where it was Agreed not to Engage the
Enemy but to proceed to Francomalay Bay, as the French did for
Pondicherry, and arrived there the 27th. In the English Squadron
were Fourteen killed & Forty Six Wounded, but not One Killed or Hurt
on board the Medway. On the French Side we cannot learn those
Particulars for any Certainty. Their Squadron Consisted of the
Achilles a Seventy Gun Ship, Six Company Ships, & Two Country
Ships. The Achilles with three of them left Europe together in April
was Twelve Months, Two of them were returning Ships detained
at the Islands for this Purpose and all reinforced as much as they
could there. Captain Payton kept the Squadron at Francomalay till
the beginning of August, when he came on the Coast & Appeared off
Negapatam the 6th. The French Squadron Consisting of Eight Ships
One being gone to Bengall and is since lost in that River with Five
hundred & Eighty / 280 / Europeans. Weighd from Pondicherry the
the 24th July for the Southward, and were then in that Road, & stood
out to meet the English Squadron which stood to the Southward
from them, and the French returned. The 7th both Squadrons did
the same as likewise the 8. and 9. The 10th The English disappeared
on which the French returned and on the 13 Anchored in Pondicherry
Road. The 17th the Eight Ships weighed for Madras Road.
where

where they arrived the 18th and fired on the *Princess Mary*, which was returned from the ship, and from the Fort. Each ship gave a broad side as she stood to the Northward, and another as she returned, and then stood to the Southward again. We are since informed they had Two Motives for this Expedition. One was to make a Plea with the Country Government, that the English had committed the first Hostilitys Ashoar, and the other to see if Captain Payton would Come to our Assistance or not. The 23rd Captain Payton with his Squadron stood into Pulicat Road where he sent his Lieutenant Mr. Weems on board a Vessel in the Road, who was there told of all the Circumstances of their Attacking the *Princess Mary* & of their then being between Madras & Pondicherry, on which he disappeared and has never since been heard of, or from, by any of the English, though there has been no Cost or Pains spared for that Purpose, as may easily be imagined from the since Melancholly Situation of Affairs on this Coast. The last letter that was received from any one belonging to the Squadron was from Captain Payton to Governor Morse dated the 1st August when he was just Come out from refitting. This Unhappy Conduct of his so Animated our Enemies that they determined on Attacking Fort St George. We call it Unhappy because it has truly Proved so in its Consequences, though what reasons Captain Payton may have^{had} for this Proceeding, we know not. Accordingly the 2nd of September in the Morning they weighed again from Pondicherry, the 4th they Landed their Men at St Thome & thereabouts and the 6th began the Attack chiefly depending upon their Shells. The 10th the Town Surrendered but on what Terms as we are not Perfectly Informed we shall not Presume to trouble your Honours with flying Reports. We are pretty well assur'd there are as yet no Terms Comply'd with, & that Monsieur De Pimminy is gone thither from Pondicherry to Command the Garrison. The 2nd Instant the seven French Ships in the Roads having taken what Quantity of Money, Goods, Ammunition, and Stores they thought proper were to sail the 3rd for Pondicherry and from thence immediately thither to Attack this Place, but it Pleas'd God that Night & the Next Morning it blew so hard as to foundeer the Duc de Orleans there Second Ship in Force, and Two more, the Achilles of 70 Guns The Commodore's and only Ship of Considerable Force, either Cut away or lost all her Masts, as did the three others. So that

Twelve

Twelve Hundred / 1200 / Men have perished, and the whole Squadron are utterly disabled and their design against this place rendered impracticable for the Present, though it is the Opinion of most of our Officers that had they come we should have taken up more of their Time than they had to spare. We have about Twenty of the Things People that were left ashore sick who have put our Gunroom in excellent Order, some of the People came to us from Madras, though not many. The additions and alterations to our Fort within this Twelve Month have made it infinitely more secure than it was. We have full six months provisions of all kinds in the Fort so that we doubt ^{not but} we should have been able to make a defence for a considerable Time had they come. They now talk of coming to us by Land, in which Case We bless God we are no ways apprehensive but with the Common Protection of Providence we shall be able to Defend and secure this Place till we are relieved for which Purpose we assure your Honours our utmost Endeavours shall be used. Your Honours Vessels the Mermaid and Advice Snow were both taken by the French Squadron in Madras Road, and both lost in the Storm. The Princess Mary was skuttled & run into the Surf but is since got off by the French. The Sumatra & Brilliant from the West Coast passed by this Place the 19th August, they were near enough for us to see they had Colours out, and we knowing the French Squadron was off Cominere or thereabouts made a Haul of our Flag for six hours, and fired a Gun, which the Masters say they did not see, and sailed on into the Squadron which having English Colours they took for ours and were lost, but had Time to throw their Papers overboard. It must Naturally appear to your Honours & Indeed to all the World a very Extraordinary Circumstance That the Nabob and Country Government should permit our Enemies to Take this Advantage of us, when it has been Obedience to their Commands and for the Peace and Welfare of their Country alone, that has prevented the English along Time from Acting in the same manner by the French, and thereby putting it out of their Power to give us this Blow, In answer to which the French say they had the Nabobs Permission for committing these Hostilities, and do not scruple to declare Publickly they gave him One hundred Thousand / 100,000 / Pagodas for the Liberty of so doing, and when they Landed their People they produced

Produced his Fernanah which met with Universal Credit, though the Nabob now disowns his having granted any. Your Honours may be sure all Methods that can be thought of have been used to represent to the Nabob the Monstrous Injustice as well as ill Policy of this his Proceeding, to which he replies he never gave them any such Liberty. That his Son was going to the Assistance of Madras, but it was given up before he could get thither. And assures us he will join with the English to destroy Pondicherry. This is the Substance of his Letter in Answer to Mr. Hindes Remonstrances to him, and assures us of his Assistance, though at the same Time he carries on a close Correspondence with the French and expects no doubt his Share of the Booty, in which respect it is possible he may be disappointed. We shall not fail to keep on good Terms with him, though we cannot flatter our selves with hopes of much if any Assistance from him, as nothing of that Nature has yet appeared in Consequence of his repeated Promises. though we have been in daily Expectation of our Enemies appearing against us, and no doubt they would before now, had not many unforeseen Circumstances concurred to keep them much longer at Madras than they or we could have Expected, after the Surrender of that Place, and at last this for us most Fortunate Storm, which we look upon as a ^{most} distinguishing Mark of Providence in our favour that greatly encourages us under our Present difficulty, the particulars of which we shall not take up your Honours Leisure with as it is not now in your power to relieve us in Time, but we have wrote to Bengal and Bombay for that Purpose and hope they will have regard Enough for your Honours Interest to succour us Speedily

On the 25th August arrived at Mahé Three French Ships, One called the Centurion of Seventy Guns being of Equal Force and Burthen with the Achilles, One of Forty and another of Twenty Guns, which three Ships arrived at Pondicherry the 27th September and sailed from thence the 1st Instant. Four that came out of Europe in Company with them are said to be gone to China. We have no News of the Arrival of any of your Honours Ships in India. We hear from Mocha that Mr. Adair died at Beethforchee, as did Captain Wells of the Telham at Bombay

Bombay. We have had no News from Bengall this Season. The
Mermaids Packet coming from thence fell into the Enemys
hands in Madras Road. The Sumatra is we heard design'd from
Pondicherry for Europe where the Shatter'd remains of Monseieur De
Tourdenais Squadron are bound on the above three Ships, we can=
not learn as yet. Fifty of the Military belonging to Madras perished
on the three Ships that were lost. The Remainder they sent Ashore
and released them as the People themselves say for being Useful to
them in the Storm. There was not only a great deal of the plunder
taken out of Madras on board those three Ships but a good deal
more was lost at the same Time going to Pondicherry in open boats.
The Intercourse of Letters between Madras and this Place has been
stop'd ever since the Town was Invested, Only three from Govern=
ment to Mr. Kinde having come out as yet from that Place and
the fear of their being intercepted Occasions there being ^{now} only
in General Terms. So that we know not for Certainty on ^{what} footing
the Gentlemen there are, but Mr. Morse writes that Mr. De Young the
Dutch Governour at Pullicat refused giving the Women & Children
Protection and sent them all back again which was a great Incon=
veniency to the Place. Mr. Mervin the Governour of Negapatam has
been more humane and has taken all the Families from this place
under his Protection, and treats them with great Humanity. Imme=
diately on hearing Madras had Surrender'd we came to a Resolution
of stopping the Investment as your Cash was very low indeed,
About Ten thousand ^{only}, though the Merchants have had no Ad=
vances since we received the Silver mentioned above from Bombay
which was the beginning of June notwithstanding which and
many other Impediments which your Honours will be more fully
apprized of hereafter from our Letters between Madras and here,
we have about One thousand Five hundred /1500/ Bales and shall
in January be able to make them up One thousand Eight hundred
/1800/ to load a Ship Please God we have any Come to us, and had
we Money we could provide much more

John Crab Quarter Master of one of his
Majesties Ships having a little Money and being desirous to
secure it We have received into your Honours Cash One hundred
and Ninety /190/ Pagodas for which we have given him Certifi=
cates of the receipt and request he may be paid in England the
Amount of the same

Supplement

Since writing the above we have received a letter signed by Governour Morel and all the Gentlemen at Madras Copy of which we send Inclosed in the Packet. In it is mentioned Articles of Capitulation for the Ransom of that Place, which is all we yet know and thought proper to advise your Honours of it, what the Terms are we know not, but they are very ill kept by Monseieur Dupleix the Governour of Pondicherry who sent out Three hundred / 300 / Men to surprize them on the Way, which they did, and have Carried them all Prisoners into Pondicherry. The Three Ships which we advise above to be sailed from Pondicherry are returned with Two of the disabled Ships. So that there are now in that Road and the Offin Five Ships compleatly Riggd and Five disabled besides Small Vessels. We are with the utmost Fidelity and Respect

Your Honours

Fort St David
the 17 October 1746

Most Faithful & most Obedient
Humble Servants

John Hinde
D^r L. Croft &
Charles Wager
W^m Mott.
B^r Wynch
Thomas White

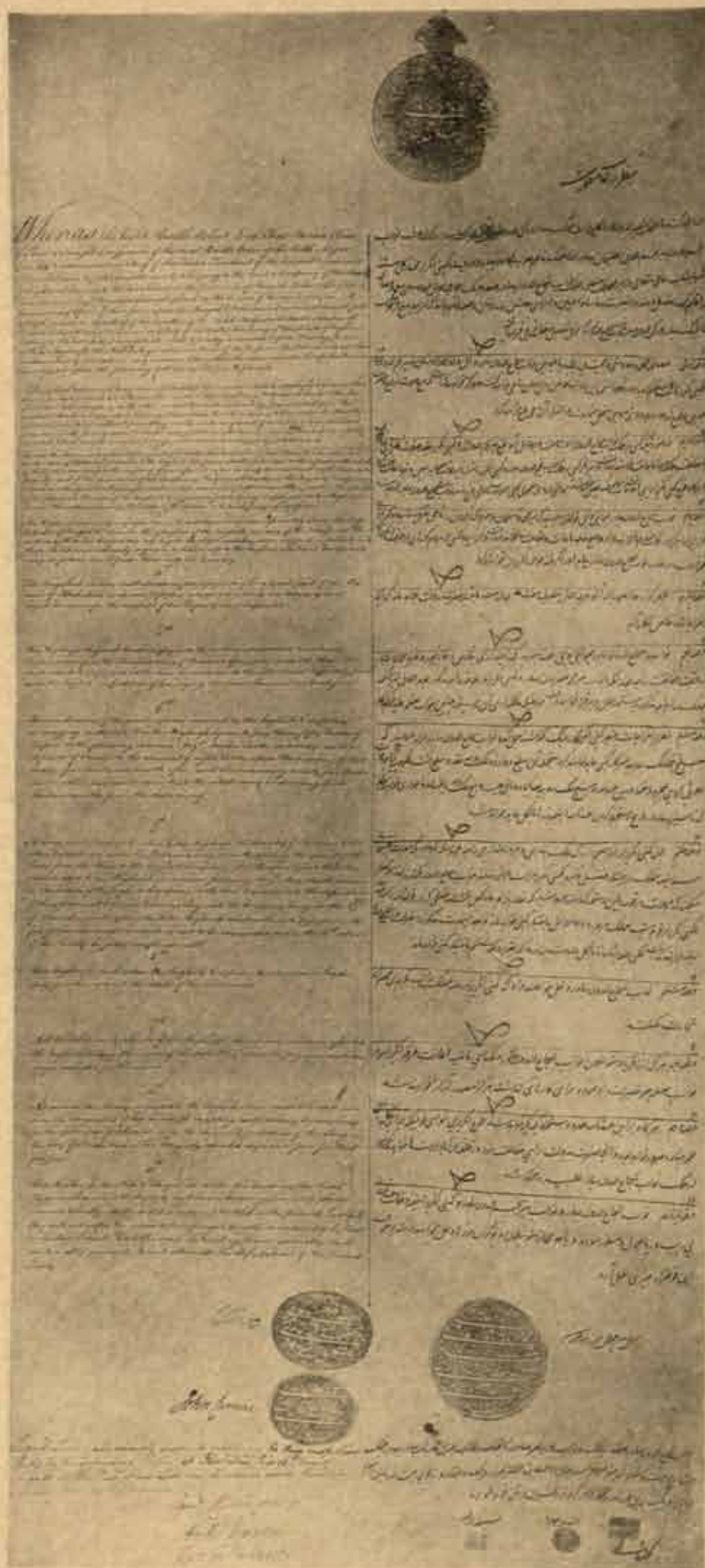
THE TREATY OF ALLAHABAD.

The treaty concluded at Allahabad on August 16, 1765, by which the English restored to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh practically the whole of his territories, which had been conquered by the Company's forces under Sir Robert Fletcher and General Carnac, is a landmark in British-Indian history. "After the war of 1764 with the Vizier," writes Sir Alfred Lyall (*Rise of the British Dominion in India*), "it lay with the Company to choose between annexing, by right of conquest, some important districts situated on their north-western frontier, or attaching the Vizier to their interests by reinstating him in this tract of country, which he held by a very dubious title, and from which he might have been easily ousted. Lord Clive adopted without hesitation the latter alternative; he restored the districts to Oudh upon the grounds that every motive of sound policy weighed against extending the territorial possessions of the Company. This decision, he found, 'disappointed the expectations of many, who thought of nothing but a march with the Emperor to Delhi. My resolution however was, and my hopes will be, to confine our assistance, our conquest, and our possessions to Bengal, Behar and Orissa. To go further is in my opinion a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd, that no Governor and Council in their senses can adopt it, unless the whole system of the Company's interest be first entirely new re-modelled.' He therefore decided to maintain and strengthen Oudh as a friendly State interposed between Bengal and northern India. And the barrier-treaty framed upon this principle by Lord Clive constituted the basis of our foreign policy upon that frontier up to the end of the century."

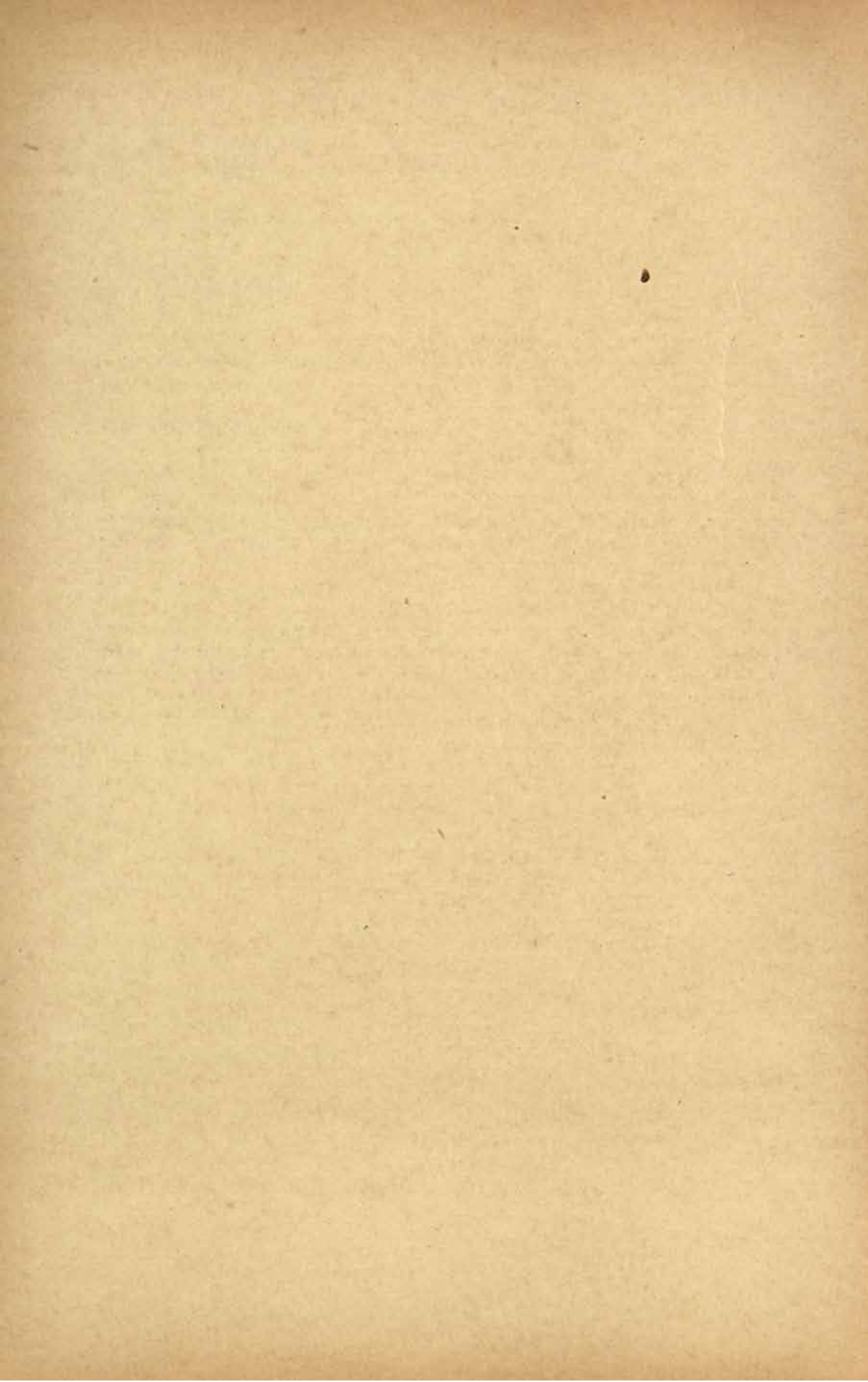
The Company's counterpart of the treaty (of which Mr. Griggs has secured an excellent facsimile) now hangs in the Library Reading Room at the India Office. The articles are given both in English and in Persian, and are briefly as follows. The first provides for "a perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship, and firm union" between the contracting parties. The second guarantees mutual assistance in the event of an attack upon the dominions of either, the Nawab Wazir at the same time undertaking to defray any "extraordinary expence" incurred by the Company in supplying him with troops. By the third article the Oudh Nawab pledges himself to give no support or protection to Mir Kasim, the late Subadar of Bengal, or to the European adventurer known as Samru, "the assassin of the English" (at Patna); and also engages to deliver up any European deserters from the Company's army who may take refuge in his territory. The fourth secures to the Mogul Emperor Kora and the portion of Allahabad province then in his possession, "as a royal demesne for the support of his dignity and expences." By the fifth the Raja Bulwunt Sing, the ally of the English, is continued in his zamindaris of Benares, Ghazipur, etc., on condition of his paying to the Nawab Wazir the same revenue as before. In the sixth the latter undertakes to pay to the English fifty lakhs of rupees, in the following instalments: twelve lakhs in money and a deposit of jewels equivalent to eight lakhs

upon the signing of the treaty, five lakhs a month later, and the remaining twenty-five by monthly payments, the whole to be discharged within thirteen months from the date of the treaty. The seventh article arranges for the restoration of Benares and other districts from November 27, 1765, with the exception of the fortress of Chunar, which is to be retained until the sixth article shall have been fully complied with. By the eighth the Nawab Wazir permits the English Company to trade duty free throughout his dominions; and the ninth secures a promise of indemnity for their native allies. The tenth provides for the evacuation of the Oudh territories by the Company's army on the execution of the treaty, except as regards the force necessary for the garrisoning of Chunar, or the maintenance of a detachment at Allahabad for the protection of the Emperor, should the latter desire this. The eleventh and last formally pledges the contracting parties to the observance of the treaty and a mutual guarantee of its stipulations. The document is signed and sealed by the Nawab Wazir on the one part and by Lord Clive and General Carnac, acting as the representatives of the Nawab of Bengal and the East India Company, on the other; and it is attested by Edmund Maskelyne (Clive's brother-in-law and lifelong friend), Captain Archibald Swinton, and George Vansittart (then Persian Translator) for the English, and by Mirza Kasim Khan, Raja Shitab Rai and Mir Mashala on the part of the Nawab Wazir. At the top is the stamp or seal of the Mogul Emperor, Shah Alam II., in token of his approval and concurrence. It is perhaps worth noting that although the treaty was arranged early in August, care was apparently taken not to conclude it until the Emperor had made (on the 12th of that month) the important grant by which the Company acquired the diwani of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

F.



THE ALLAHABAD TREATY, 16TH AUG, 1765.



A LETTER FROM LORD NELSON.

The news that Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson had practically annihilated Admiral Brueys' fleet in Aboukir Bay was received by his fellow-countrymen in India not only with enthusiastic pride but with heartfelt relief; for it was well understood that in taking possession of Egypt General Buonaparte had his eyes as much on India as on Turkey, and it was known that he was actually in correspondence with Tipu Sultan of Mysore, the bitterest and most powerful opponent of the British in the peninsula. How conscious Nelson himself was of the importance of his success to English interests in India is shown by the fact that, wounded as he was, his first care was to despatch an officer overland to Bombay with a letter to the Governor announcing the glad tidings. These, we are told, came just in time to save a large outlay on the defences of Bombay (Douglas's *Bombay and Western India*, vol. i. p. 391).

Nelson's victory brought him many honours and rewards. The Sultan, the Tsar and the King of Sardinia made him handsome presents. At home, his own sovereign gave him a barony, with an augmentation of arms, and Parliament voted him a pension of 2000*l.* a year for three lives. The City of London offered a sword, and the Turkey Company presented him with a piece of plate. The East India Company was not behindhand in its testimony of gratitude. At a General Court of Proprietors held on March 20, 1799, the subject was taken into consideration. The following is the official account of the proceedings:

'Motion was made "That the Thanks of this Court be given to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson for the great services he has rendered to the East India Company by the decisive Victory obtained over the French Fleet near the Mouth of the Nile on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of August last; and That this Court do recommend to the Court of Directors to take those Services into their consideration, and present to Lord Nelson some valuable and appropriate acknowledgment in Testimony of the grateful sense this Company entertains of the important benefits resulting to them from his Lordship's magnanimous conduct in that glorious Event."

'An amendment to the foregoing Motion was then proposed, by leaving out all the words after the word [Acknowledgment] in order to introduce the following words, vizt. ["by the purchase of a Service of Plate, Sword, or other Emblem of similar description (as may be most acceptable to Lord Nelson) not exceeding the sum of Five thousand Guineas, and worthy of descending to his Family, as a Testimony of the grateful Admiration of the East India Company for such glorious Atchievements."]

'After some debate the amendment proposed was withdrawn by consent; and the Question being put, it was RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY "That the Thanks of this Court be given to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson for the great Services he has rendered to the East India Company by the decisive Victory obtained over the French Fleet near the Mouth of the Nile on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of August last; and That this Court do recommend to the Court of Directors to take those Services into their consideration,

and present to Lord Nelson some valuable and appropriate acknowledgment in Testimony of the grateful sense this Company entertains of the important benefits arising to them from his Lordship's magnanimous Conduct in that glorious Event."¹

Being thus authorized by the stockholders, the Court of Directors acted with their wonted liberality. At another General Court held on June 19, the Chairman acquainted the meeting that the Directors had on April 24 passed a resolution (here reproduced) requesting Lord Nelson's acceptance of the sum of ten thousand pounds, and that the India Board had signified its approval of the grant.

To the Chairman, Sir Stephen Lushington, fell the pleasant duty of acquainting Lord Nelson with the Company's determination; and we here reproduce the characteristic reply he received from the warmhearted seaman. The original letter—written of course with his left hand—now hangs, handsomely framed, in the Reading Room of the India Office Library.

The reference made by Nelson to his having at one time served in the East Indies will not escape notice. On this subject little is known, except that it was very early in his career (October, 1773) that he sailed for the East in H.M.S. *Seahorse* of twenty guns: that he remained there for about two years and a half, during which time he (in his own words) "visited almost every part of the East Indies from Bengal to Bussorah": and that then, his health having broken down completely, he was sent home in the *Dolphin* under Captain Pigot, in so serious a condition that "had it not been for the attentive and careful kindness of that officer on the way Nelson would never have lived to reach his native shores." This, however, was not his only connexion with India. According to the late Mr. James Douglas (*op. cit.*) one of Nelson's brothers was in the Bombay Marine, and was murdered by some Malays who were afterwards hanged on Gibbet Island in Bombay Harbour; and Mr. Douglas further states (on the authority of Low's *Indian Navy*) that at one time Nelson himself, when in embarrassed circumstances, applied for the lucrative but comparatively inconspicuous post of Superintendent of the Bombay Marine. Had he succeeded in obtaining that position, how different the course of history might have been!

F.

¹ It appears that in the course of the debate another proposal was made. Sir Francis Baring called the attention of the assembly to the statues that graced the General Court Room, and suggested that in lieu of making him a present they should "place the Hero of the Nile by the side of the Heroes of the Ganges." This proposition, however, failed to commend itself to the assembly. (*Asiatic Annual Register* for 1798-99, p. 162.)

*At a Court of Directors held on
Wednesday the 24th April, 1799.*

*Resolved Unanimously. That the Thanks of this Court
be given to the Right Honorable, Rear Admiral, Lord
Nelson, for the very great and important Services he has
rendered to the East India Company, by the ever memorable
Victory obtained over the French Fleet, near the Mouth
of the Nile, on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd August, 1798.*

*Resolved Unanimously, That in further testimony of the
high sense this Court entertain of the very great and
important benefits arising to the East India Company
from his Lordship's magnanimous Conduct on that glorious
occasion, that this Court request his Lordship's acceptance
of the sum of Ten Thousand Pounds. -*

Tondroyant Bay of Nables July 3^d 1799

Sir

I was this day honored with your letter of
May 1st conveying to me the Resolutions of the Hon^{ble}
East India Company. It is true Sir, that I am in-
capable of finding words to convey my feelings
for the unprecedented honor done me by the
Company, having in my younger days served
in the East Indies I am no stranger to the Munificence
of the Hon^{ble} Company, but this generous act
of theirs to me so much surpasses all calculation
of gratitude, that I have only the honor of saying
that I receive it with all respect. Give me leave
Sir to thank you for your very elegant and
flattering letter and that I am with the greatest
Respect your most obliged & obedient servant

Nelson

Sir Stephen Lushington M^t.

Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Honorable
East India Company

THE ARMS OF HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

Haileybury College—perhaps the most famous of all the subsidiary institutions connected with the East India Company—may be said to have owed its inception to the Marquess Wellesley. That sagacious and far-seeing Governor-General, himself no mean scholar, was struck by the necessity of educating the youths who, by the patronage of the Directors, were drafted into a service where they would be called upon to occupy (often at a very early age) positions of great responsibility and of the most varied duties; and with this end in view he in 1800 started at Calcutta a "College of Fort William," to which all "writers" were to be sent on arrival to improve their English education and to be thoroughly grounded in the native languages. Lord Wellesley, however, was in no great favour with the Directors, who were also alarmed at the anticipated expense; and they promptly vetoed the proposed erection of a special building for the College and whittled down the scheme to a mere course of instruction in the Indian vernaculars. But the necessity of doing something of the kind could not be denied; and before long the Company decided to found a college at some spot in the neighbourhood of London, to which those nominated to writerships might be sent for preliminary training. For this purpose an estate at Haileybury in Hertfordshire was purchased in October, 1805, at a cost of nearly 6,000*l.*, and six months later Mr. William Wilkins (the architect of the National Gallery) was commissioned to erect a suitable building at an estimated outlay of 50,855*l.* The work was completed in 1809, and the College authorities, who had meanwhile carried on their duties in temporary quarters at Hertford, then took possession of their new home.

The history of the College during the next half-century may be read in *Memorials of Old Haileybury*, published in 1894 under the general editorship of Sir Monier Monier-Williams. The list of lecturers and professors contains many well-known names—amongst them Sir James Stephen; Sir James Mackintosh; Empson, afterwards editor of the *Edinburgh Review*; Jeremie, who became Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and Dean of Lincoln; Henry Melvill, one of the most celebrated preachers of the day; Malthus, author of the much-discussed essay on the population question; and, among Orientalists, Alexander Hamilton, Edward Eastwick, Charles Stewart, Francis Johnson and Sir G. C. Haughton. The weak point of the College was its want of discipline. Naturally there were occasionally some black sheep among the Directors' nominees; and expulsion—the only serious penalty—could seldom be maintained against the influence of the young culprit's friends at Leadenhall Street. This, however, was a minor blemish. On the whole the College did magnificent work, and its influence in raising the tone of the Company's civil service was immense. Among the pupils who passed through it were many who afterwards became famous. A complete list of these cannot here be attempted, but we may mention, almost at random, Lord Lawrence, Edward Thomas, Henry Thoby Prinsep, Herwald Wake (the hero of Arrah), Brian Hodgson, Sir George Clerk, Sir Frederick Halliday, Sir

Charles Trevelyan, Sir John Peter-Grant, Sir William Muir, Sir William Grey, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Edward Clive Bayley, Sir Steuart Bayley, Sir John Strachey, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Auckland Colvin, and Sir Monier Monier-Williams.

The end of the College came but a short time before the Company itself closed its career as an administrative body. In 1854 appointments to the Indian civil service were thrown open to competition; but for two years longer those who were thus appointed were still required to go through the Haileybury course. In July, 1855, however, an Act was passed, declaring that no person should be admitted to the College after January, 1856, and that the institution itself should be discontinued not later than January 31, 1858. In obedience to this decision the College closed its doors at the end of the winter term of 1857. The property was disposed of by auction in August, 1861, realising a sum of 15,200*l.*; and in the following year the building commenced a new career as the home of a public school, which is still flourishing.

The document here reproduced is an exemplification, under the hands and seals of Garter, Clarenceux and Norroy Kings of Arms, and bearing date March 21, 1807, of the arms which had been assigned to the new College by warrant from His Majesty dated the 4th of the preceding December. These, it will be seen, were simply the arms of the East India Company with an augmentation of a chief bearing an olive branch between two open books. The Company's motto was adopted, and also its crest, with the variation, in the latter case, that the lion was crowned and held a scroll instead of a crown in its paws. The unusual privilege of supporters was conceded, these being two lions, as in the Company's coat, but crowned and without the banners of St. George.

F.



To all and Singular

to whom these Presents shall come Sir Isaac Heard Knight GARTER Principal
 King of Arms George Harrison Esquire CLARENCE King of Arms and Ralph
 Bigland Esquire NORROY King of Arms send Greeting Whereto the King's
 Most Excellent MAJESTY by Warrant under His Royal Signet and Sign Manual
 bearing date the fourth day of December last signified unto the Most Noble
 Charles Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England
 that he had been graciously pleased to grant unto the East India College
 which Establishment consists of a Principal and Eight Professors His Royal Licence and Authority that the said
 College may bear on their Seal the Arms of the East India Company with an Augmentation of a Chief charged with
 a Wreath of Olive between two Open Books and for Crest a Lion rampant guardant on the Head an Eastern Crown
 and holding between the Paws a Scroll pendent therefrom a Seal together with the Motto *Aspicio Regis et Senatus*
Angliae and hath further signified to His Grace that although the Privilege of bearing Supporters is limited to the
 Peers of the Realm the Knights of His Majesty's Orders and the Barons of Princes of the Blood Royal at Installation
 except in such cases wherein under particular circumstances He has been pleased to grant His Special Licence for
 the use thereof HIS MAJESTY has been further graciously pleased to grant to the said East India College for
 Supporters to the Arms to be borne on their said Seal On either side a Lion guardant on the Head an Eastern Crown
 the whole as in the Writting annexed to the said Royal Warrant provided the same be first duly exemplified
 according to the Laws of Arms and recorded in the Herald's Office otherwise HIS MAJESTY'S said Licence and
 Armistion to be void and of none Effect And forasmuch as the said East India College such Arms and Crest and that GARTER
 his hand and Seal bearing date the twelfth day of December last in obedience to His Majesty's command
 authorize and direct us to exemplify such Supporters accordingly *Know Ye* therefore that We the said
 Principal King of Arms do exemplify such Supporters accordingly *Know Ye* therefore that We the said
 GARTER CLARENCE and NORROY in obedience to His Majesty's Command in pursuance of His Grace's
 Warrant and by Value of the Letter Patent of our several Offices to each of us respectively granted do by these
 Presents exemplify to the said East India College the Arms following that is to say The Arms of the United Company
 of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies *Verte Argent a Cross Gules On a Shield in the Dexter Quarter*
 the Arms of France and England quarterly within a Compartment adorned with an Imperial Crown on a Chief of
 Augmentation Azure an Olive Wreath between two open Books Proper bound and clasped Or And for the Crest
 On a Wreath Argent and Gules a Lion rampant guardant on his head an Eastern Crown Or holding between
 the Fore Paws a Scroll with a Seal pendent therefrom Proper as the same are in the Margin hereof more
 fully depicted and I the said GARTER do by these Presents exemplify to the said East India College
 the Supporters following that is to say On either side a Lion guardant on the head an Eastern Crown Or as
 also depicted in the margin hereof the said Arms Crest and Supporters together with the said Motto
Aspicio Regis et Senatus Angliae to be borne and used for ever hereafter by the said East
 India College on their Seal Shields Banners or otherwise according to the Tenor of HIS MAJESTY'S
 said Sign Manual and the Laws of Arms In Witness whereof We the said GARTER CLARENCE
 and NORROY Kings of Arms have to these Presents subscribed our Names and affixed the
 Seals of our several Offices this twenty first day of March in the forty seventh year of the
 Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third by the Grace of GOD of the United Kingdom
 of Great Britain and Ireland KING Defender of the Faith &c. and in the Year of our LORD
 One thousand eight hundred and Seven.

in the County of Hertford established by the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for the purpose of providing a supply of Persons duly qualified to discharge the various and
 important duties required from the said Servants of the said Company in administering the Government of India
 which Establishment consists of a Principal and Eight Professors His Royal Licence and Authority that the said
 College may bear on their Seal the Arms of the East India Company with an Augmentation of a Chief charged with
 a Wreath of Olive between two Open Books and for Crest a Lion rampant guardant on the Head an Eastern Crown
 and holding between the Paws a Scroll pendent therefrom a Seal together with the Motto *Aspicio Regis et Senatus*
Angliae and hath further signified to His Grace that although the Privilege of bearing Supporters is limited to the
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 Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third by the Grace of GOD of the United Kingdom
 of Great Britain and Ireland KING Defender of the Faith &c. and in the Year of our LORD
 One thousand eight hundred and Seven.

Isaac Heard
 Garter

Principal
 King of Arms

George Harrison
 Clarence

King of Arms.
 Ralph Bigland

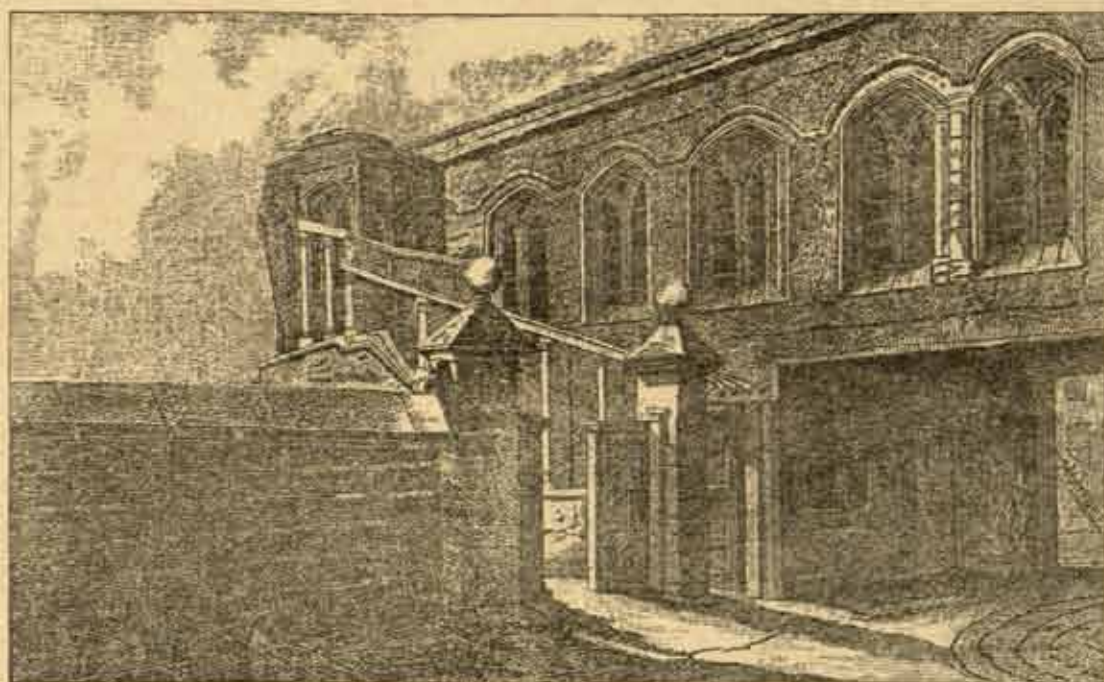
Norroy King of Arms.

THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSES.

The five views here given of the Company's headquarters at successive periods have been described in detail by Sir George Birdwood in his introduction, and nothing need be added here. They depict for us: (1) Crosby House, the Company's home from 1621 to 1638 [the demolition of this magnificent building (to be re-erected, it is hoped, in Chelsea) will be fresh in the reader's recollection]: (2) Craven House, in Leadenhall Street, to which they removed in 1648: (3) the building substituted in 1726: (4) the East India House as refronted at the close of the eighteenth century, and as it remained (with a slight addition) down to its destruction in 1861.

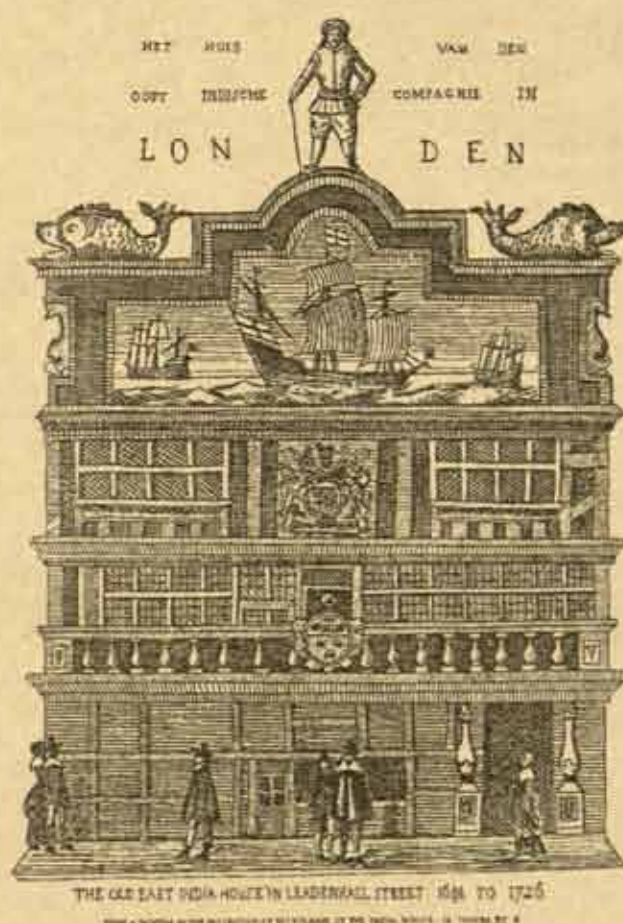
To make the series complete, we should need views of: (1) Sir Thomas Smythe's house in Philpot Lane, which the Company made their headquarters down to 1621; and (2) Sir Christopher Clitheroe's mansion in Leadenhall Street, which they occupied from 1638 to 1648. Unfortunately, however, no representation of either building can be discovered.

F.

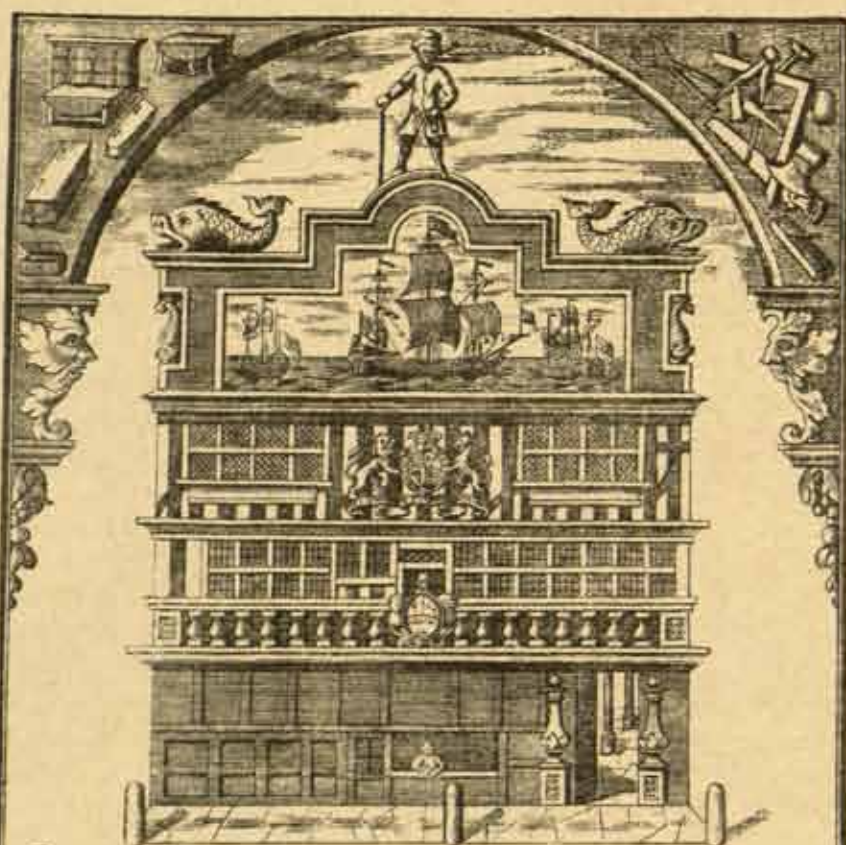


CROSBY PLACE
*"And presently called 'Crosby-place'." King Richard III. Act. I. scene II. l. 10.
 London: Pub. by the Author, 1756. By E. Harding, 1757. Plate. Street.*

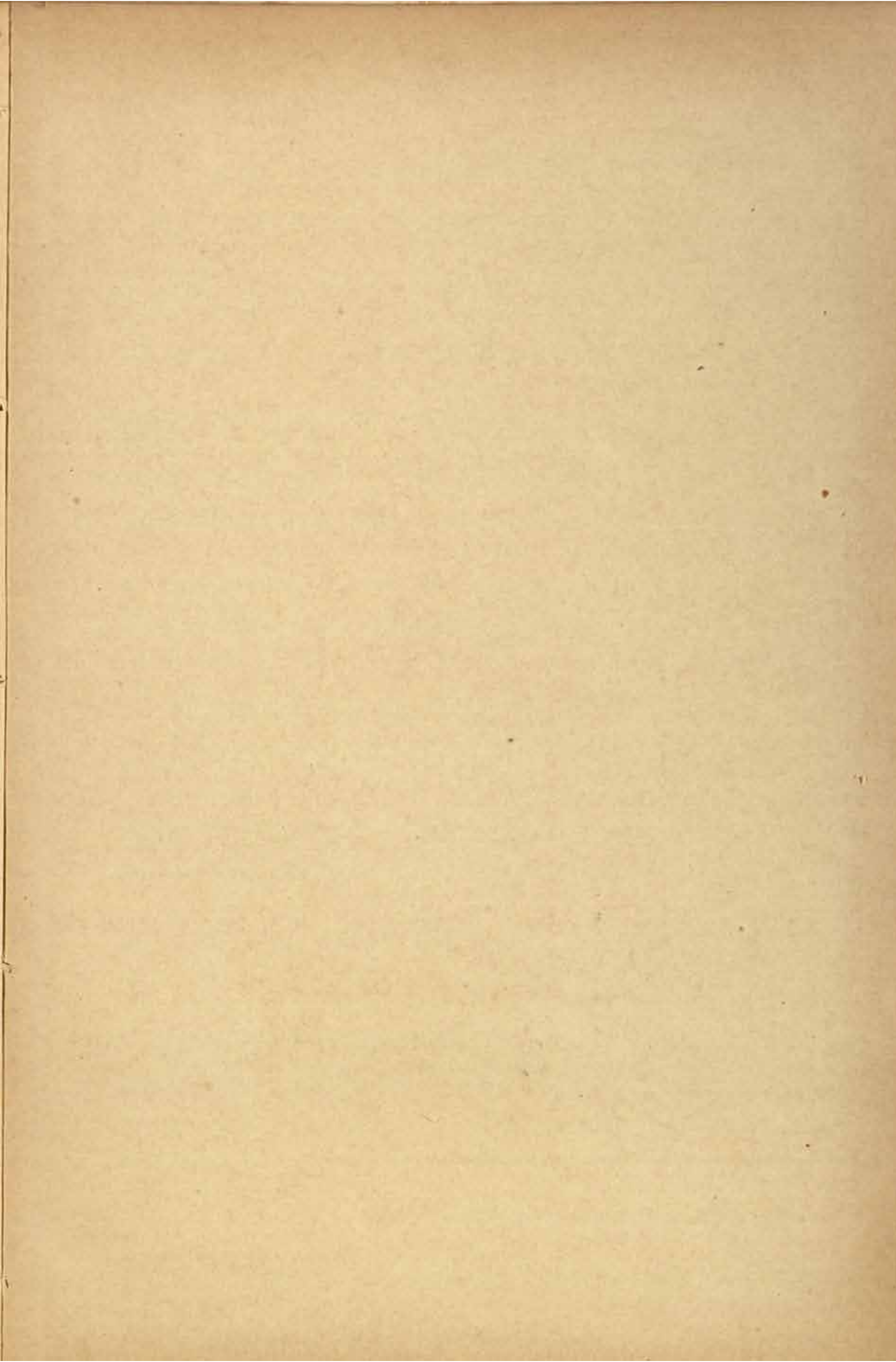
CROSBY HOUSE, FROM AN OLD PRINT.



THE "OLD" [LONDON] EAST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE. LEADENHALL STREET.



Will:^m Overley Joyner at the Sign of
the East India House in Leaden-hall Street LONDON.
Makes all sorts of Sea Chests in Deal or Wainscot.
Ruff or Smooth Packing Chests or Cases, and Cases
of Bottles, & Boxes of all Sizes, Presses in Deal or
Wainscot, & Bedsteads, Tables, Desks, Book Cases, Bu-
ronus & Writing Desks, Letter holes, & Drains for Shops.
Also Counters and all sorts of Joiners worke done
— at Reasonable Rates —





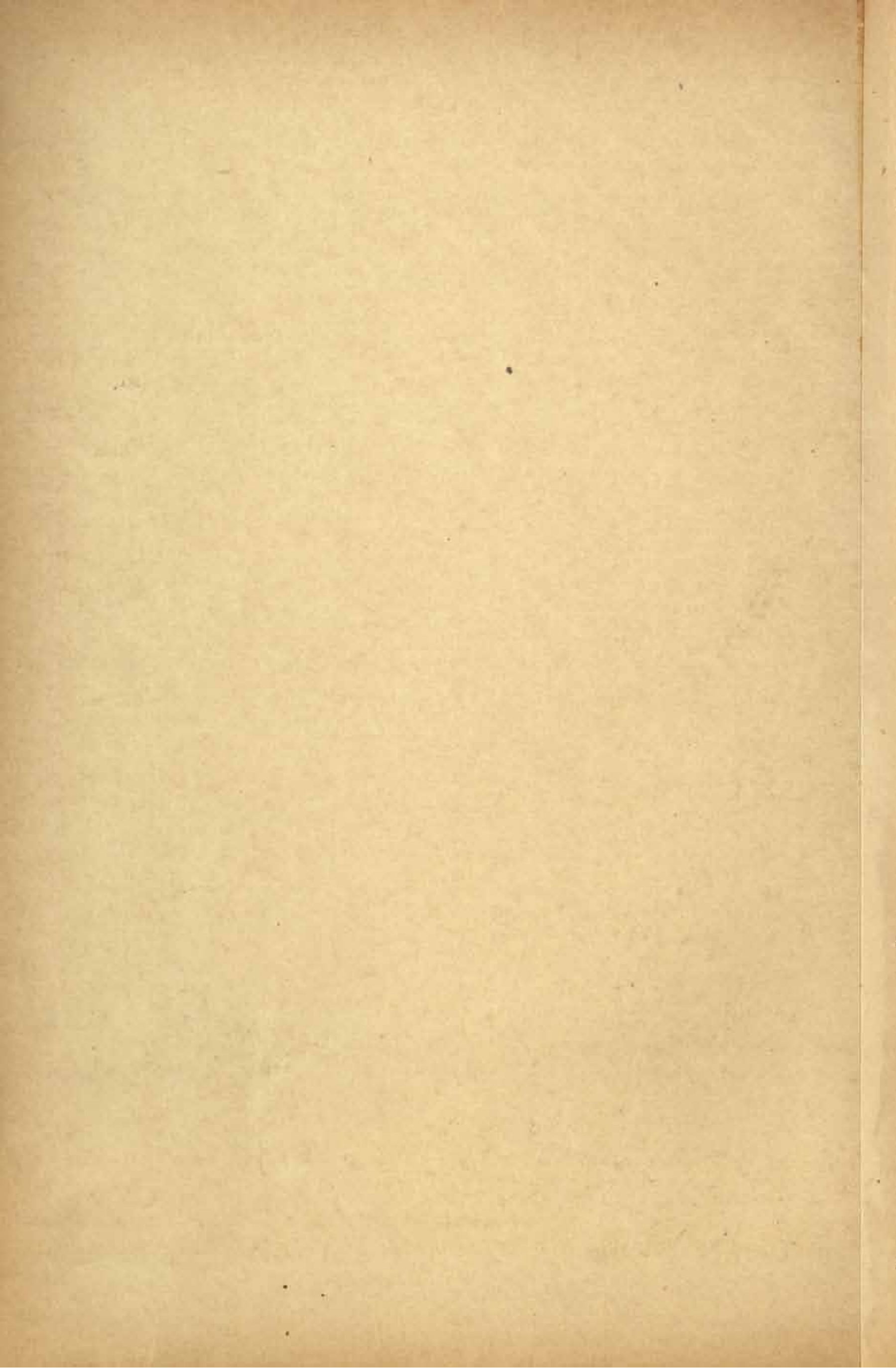
THE HOUSE OCCUPIED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN LEADENHALL STREET, AS REPAVED IN 1726.

From a coloured drawing by T. Mallon, March 1800.



FRONT OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET, AS REBUILT IN 1796.

From a coloured drawing by T. Malton, March 1800.



PLANS OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

This set of six plans (including that showing the surrounding district) has been reproduced from the series circulated with the forms of tender issued in 1861, when the site and buildings in Leadenhall Street were offered for sale. These were prepared by Mr. (afterwards Sir Matthew) Digby Wyatt, and his assistant, Mr. George Lufkin.

The plans of the several floors give us much interesting information regarding the parts of the building allotted to the various departments. Entering by the main portico, the visitor would find himself in a circular vestibule, from which a passage on the left would take him to part of the famous museum. Opposite to him would be a long corridor leading to the back of the building. Proceeding along this and passing another room devoted to museum purposes, he would meet a cross corridor which would bring him out by the General Court Room, formerly the Sale Room, lighted from the top and from some windows on the north side. Communicating with this was the Directors' Court Room, which looked out into a large central courtyard. Round the latter were grouped the Chairman's Room, the apartment allotted to the Deputy Chairman, and the Military and Revenue Committee Rooms. The Finance Committee Room was farther back and looked into a smaller yard. There was a third portion of the museum at the north-western corner. The rest of the floor was given up to various offices, lighted by five or six other yards or areas.

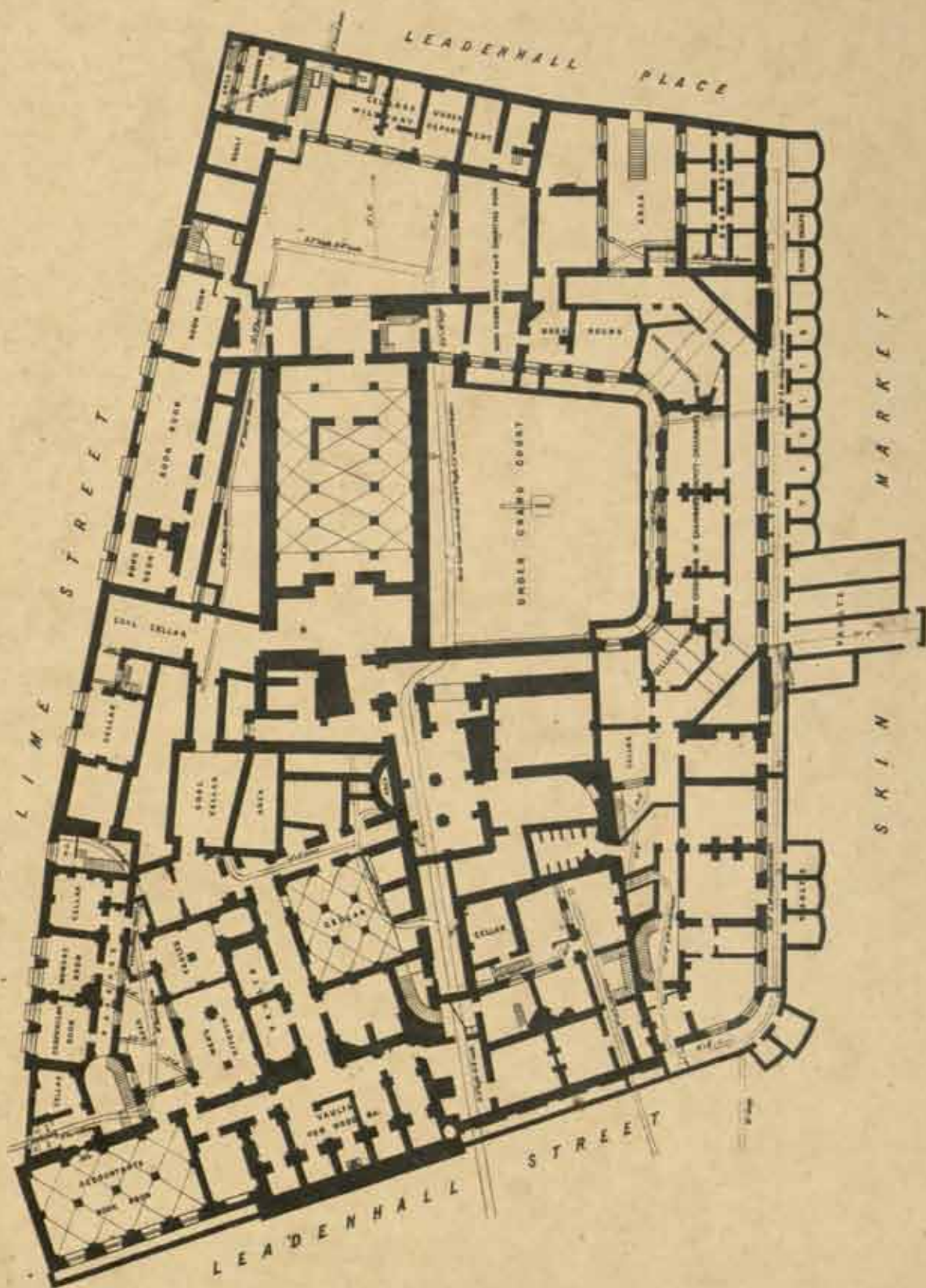
On the first floor the east side was mainly occupied by the Accountant-General and his clerks, the south side by the Military Department, and the west by the offices of the Secretary and the Extra Secretary. The second floor was occupied by the Examiner's Department, the Registry, the Library and Museum, the Statistical Office, and the Secret Department. On the top floor we find the Marine Department, another portion of the Museum, the lithographic offices, the book rooms, and the apartments in which lived the Head Doorkeeper and his assistants. The basement was given up to cellars, filled largely with records of all sorts.

The general plan of the East India House and neighbourhood calls for little comment, though it will prove of considerable interest to those who know the neighbourhood and can recognise the changes that have taken place therein since 1861. We may note, however, that the thick black line on the western side (coloured green in the original plan) represents "East India House Passage," which then led from Leadenhall Place into Leadenhall Street. When the East India Company in 1830 purchased from the City of London a piece of ground to complete their building at the south-western angle, they covenanted to keep this passage in good repair for the free and uninterrupted use of the public at all times for ever thereafter. Of course the property could only be sold subject to this right of way; but subsequently the purchasers came to terms with the City authorities and were allowed to close the passage, the present East India Avenue through the centre of the new building being accepted as a sufficient substitute.

The passage, however, was not built upon, except at the Leadenhall Street end, and may still be seen from Leadenhall Place.

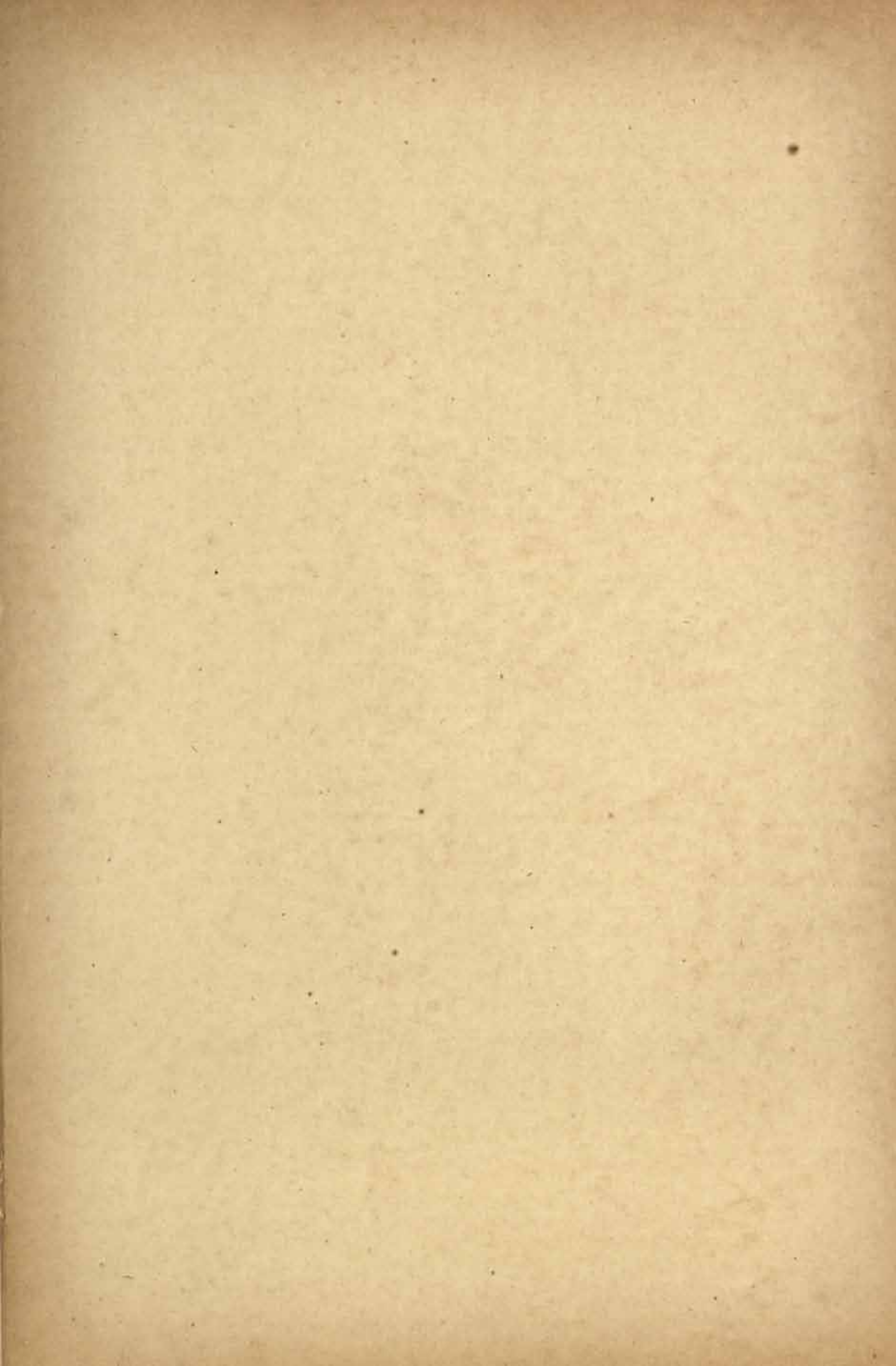
The piece of ground marked A, at the north-western corner of the Company's premises, was the site of a house belonging to a family named Cock, the purchase of which cost a great deal of trouble and occupied a period of over forty years. The negotiations began in 1815, and eleven years later had progressed so far that the Company took possession and pulled down the premises, the purchase money having been invested in stock in the names of certain trustees agreed upon by both sides, until the necessary legal formalities should be completed. Owing, however, to the number of persons interested in the purchase money, to some of them being absent in India, and to other causes, the conveyance was not made nor the money paid over until 1856. The Company's title was therefore a very recent one: hence the necessity of distinguishing this particular portion of ground in the plan.

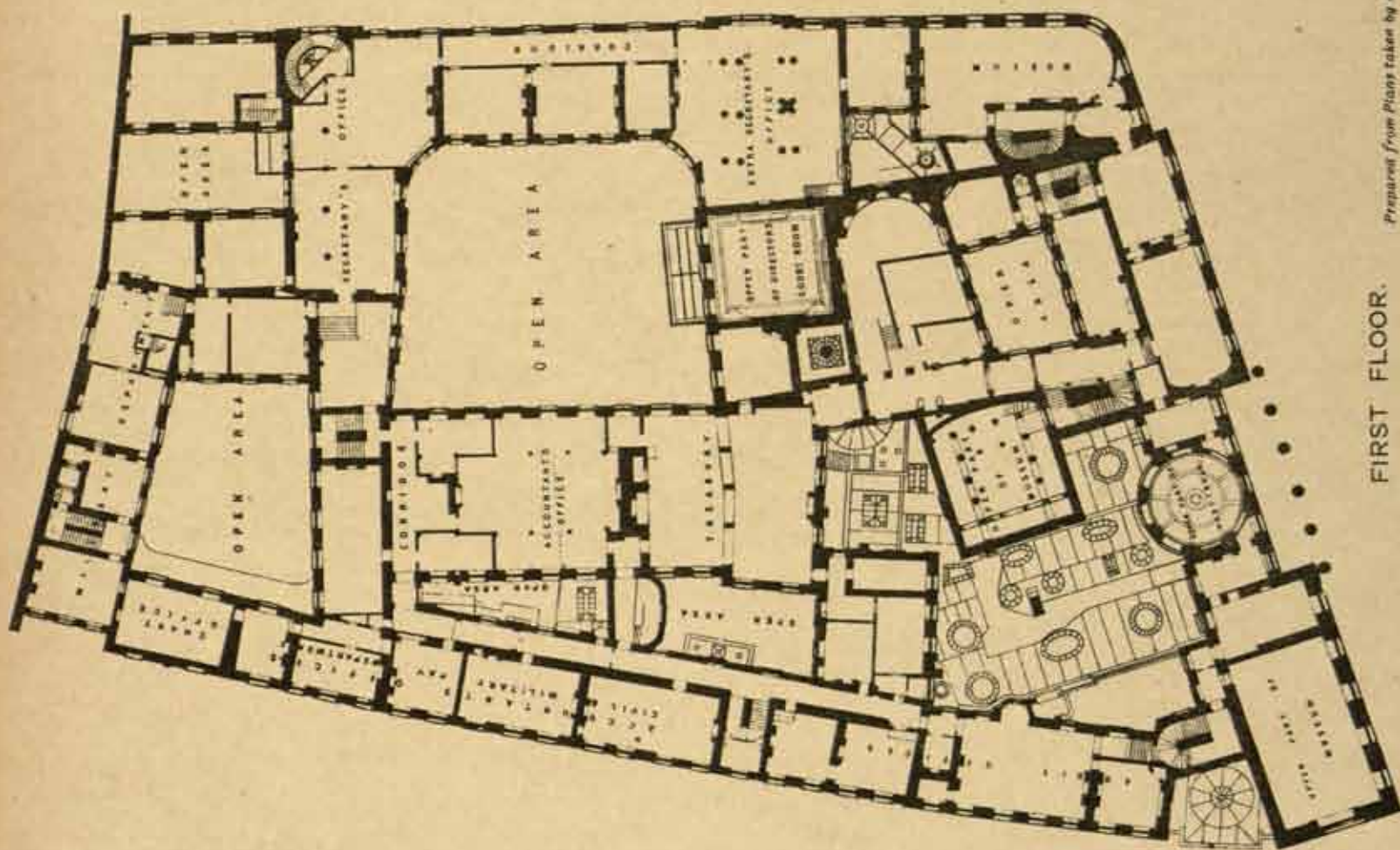
F.



BASEMENT PLAN

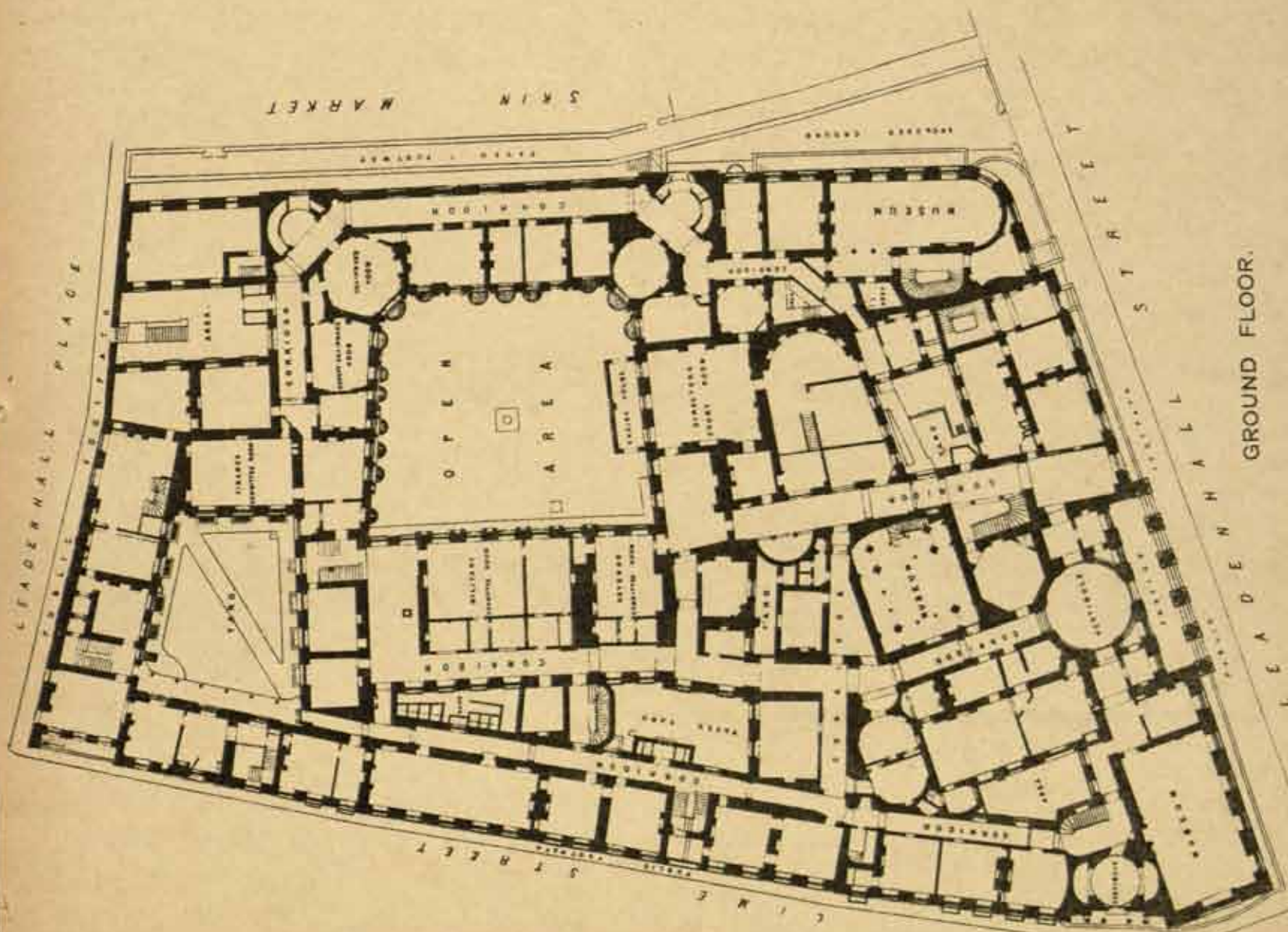
$\frac{1}{4}$ inches to 100 feet.





FIRST FLOOR.

Prepared from Plans taken by Mr. George Luffin in 1854-55.



GROUND FLOOR.

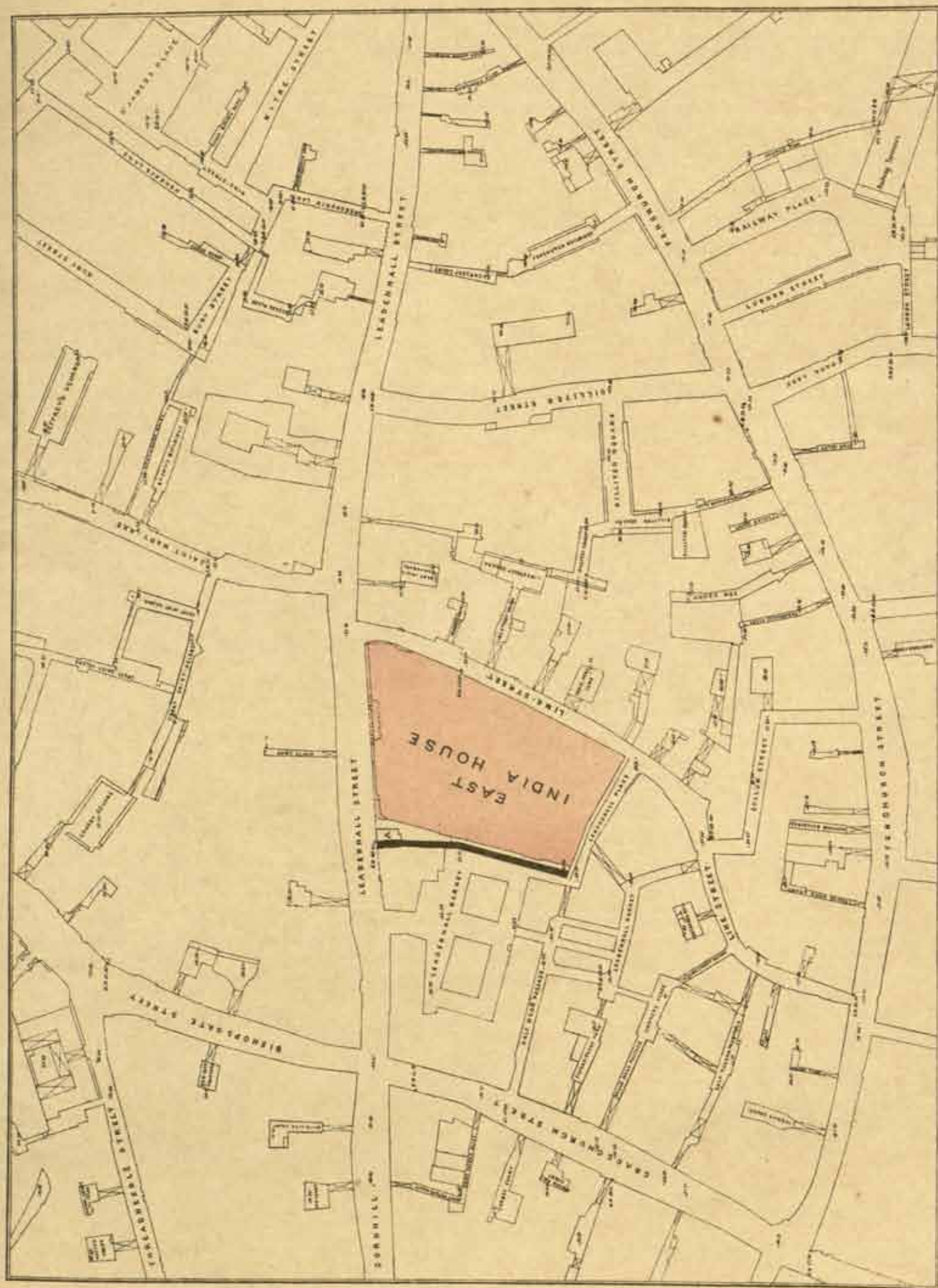
MARKET

LEADER HALL PLACE

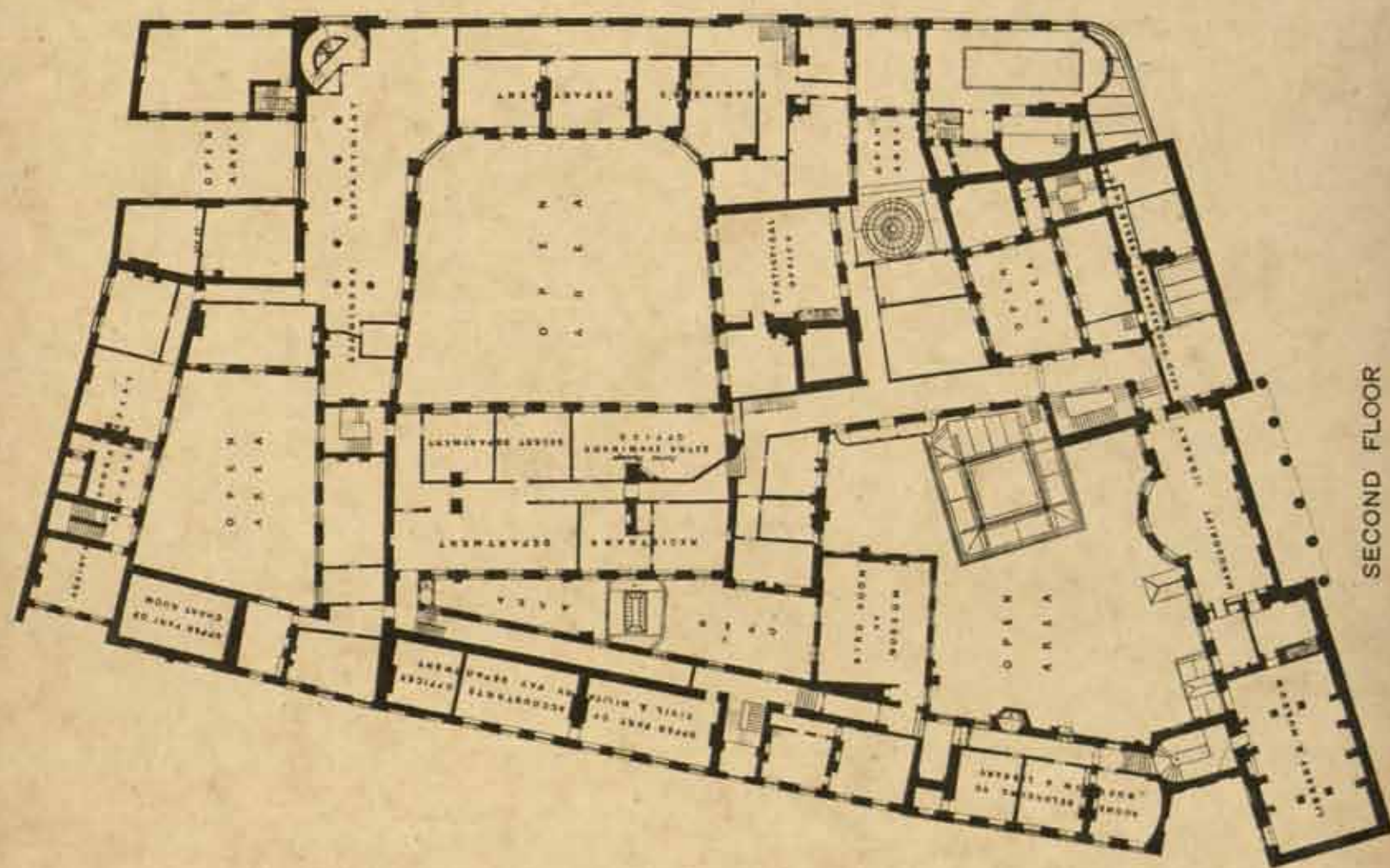
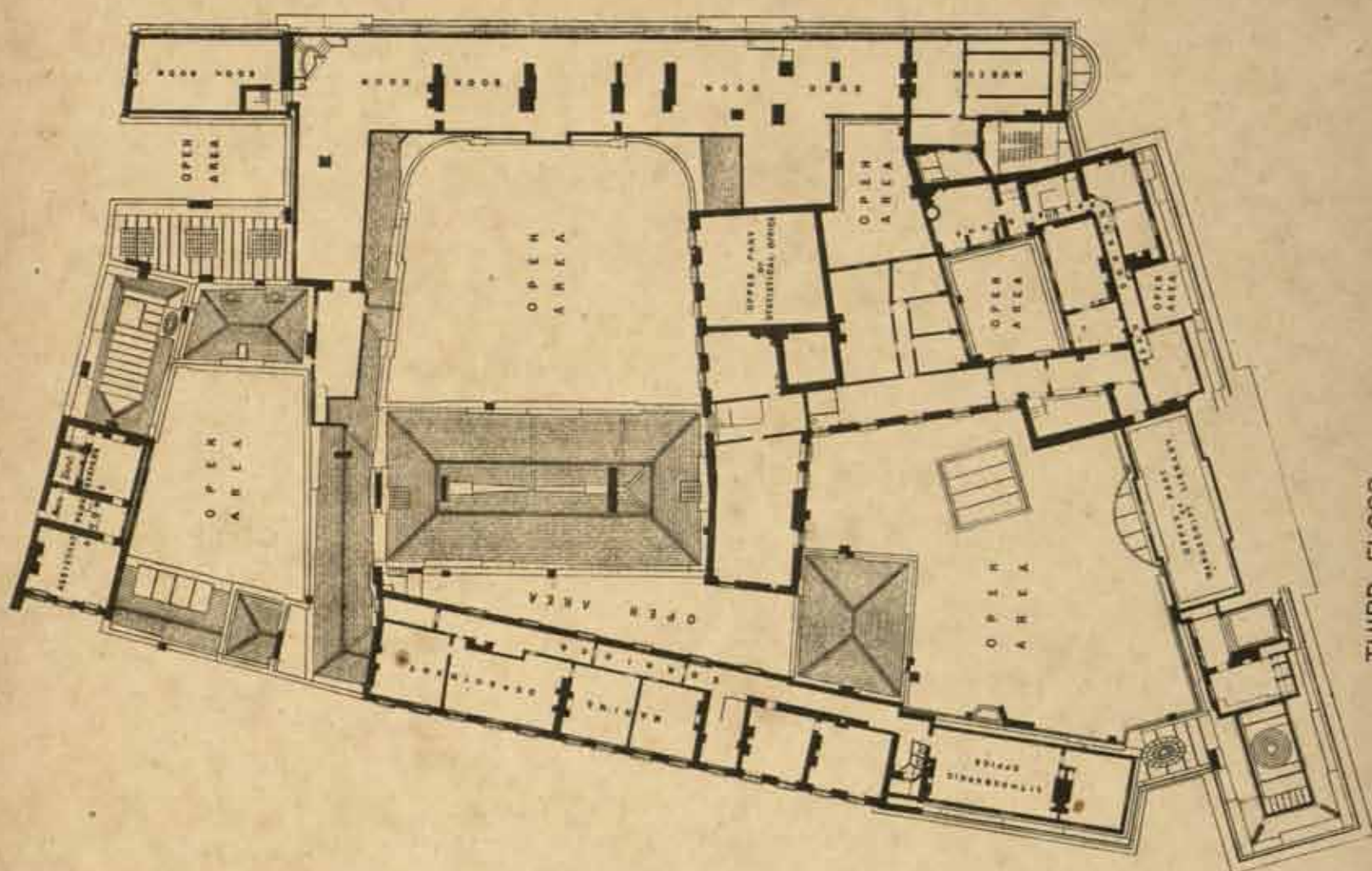
STREET

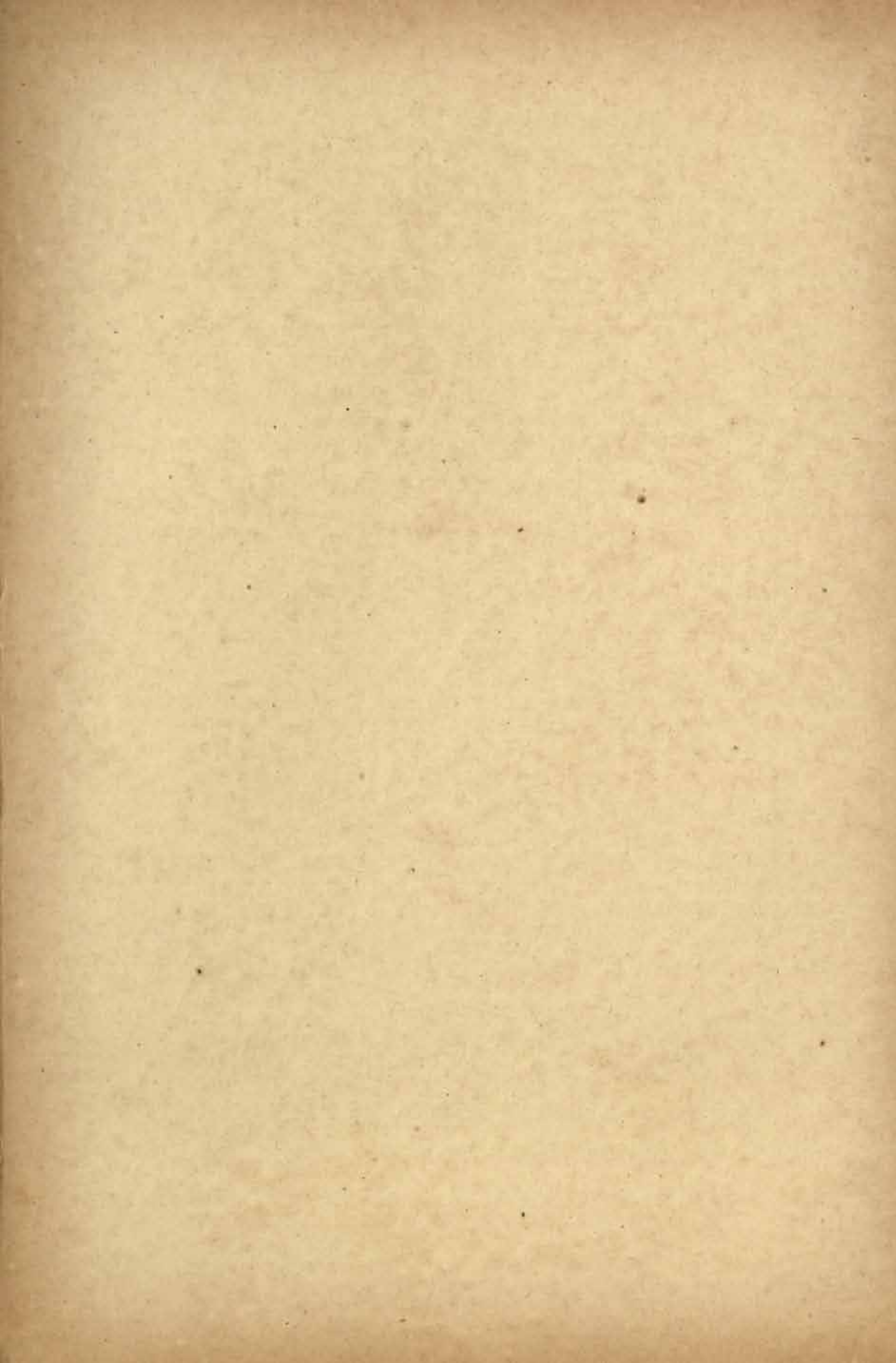
LEADER HALL

STREET



PLAN SHOWING THE SITE OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE, WITH THE ADJACENT LOCALITIES, 1860.





SOME NOTABLE MANTELPIECES.

The next four plates are all of mantelpieces which once stood in the East India House but now adorn the office of the Secretary of State for India.

Our first illustration shows the handsome marble mantelpiece which was brought from the Directors' Court Room at Leadenhall Street and set up in the Council Room of the new office. The beautiful centre panel which is its chief feature was executed by Michael Rysbrack, whose name is faintly traced on a rock in the foreground. The subject is the trite one of Britannia, seated by the ocean, accepting the homage of India, while behind stand female figures typifying Asia and Africa, the former leading a camel, the latter a lion. In a prominent position on the right is a river-god, representing the Thames. In the background a man is handling a bale of goods, and a ship is seen in the distance.

The next mantelpiece, though handsome and dignified, needs no special mention, except perhaps to record the fact that it formerly stood in the Library of the East India House. It now graces what is known as the Revenue Committee Room, which is familiar to most Anglo-Indians as being the scene of their interviews with the Medical Board of the India Office.

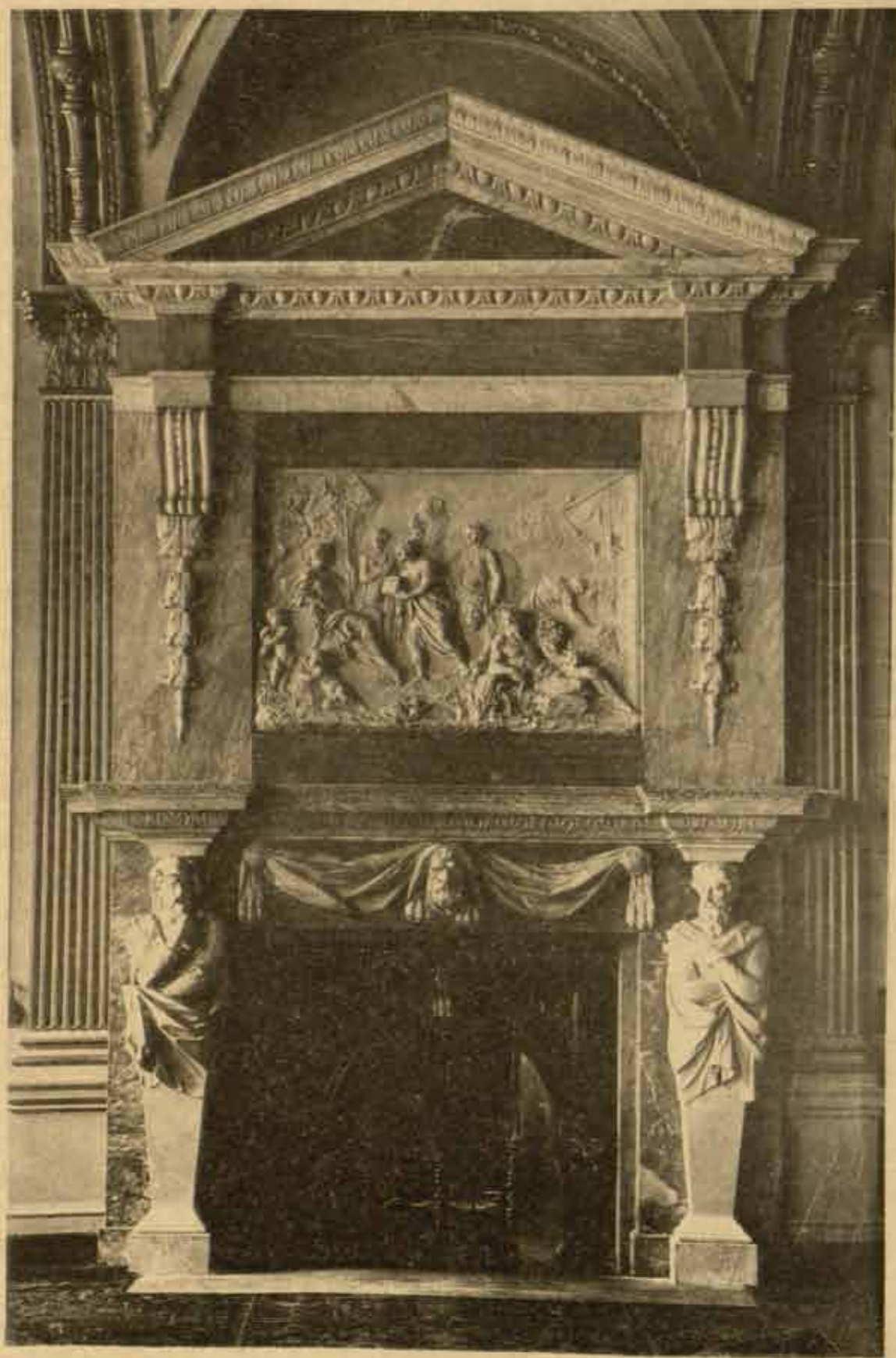
The other two mantelpieces selected for illustration are in the Finance Committee Room. Both are of plain design, and both are said to have been in the Museum at Leadenhall Street. More worthy of attention than either are the two pedestal clocks which are shown in the second plate. These are of a very striking Chippendale pattern, and were made for the East India Company by Aynsworth Thwaites about 1760. One is a timepiece; the other shows the day of the week and month and the phases of the moon (formerly also the direction of the wind, having been connected with a vane on the roof of the East India House). At the break-up of the Company's home, the two got separated, and only the former was brought to the India Office. Years afterwards, however, Mr. Bertram Currie, who, as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Council of India, had often consulted the timepiece, met with the companion clock somewhere on the Continent, purchased it, and presented it to the India Office.

The picture above the fireplace in the last illustration also deserves a brief notice. It portrays the first Napoleon in his coronation robes, and is to a large extent a copy of Gérard's famous painting now at Versailles. It stood in the Librarian's room at the East India House, and Marshal Soult, who saw it there in 1838, is said to have been moved to tears by its striking likeness of his old master. Round this picture grew up an extraordinary legend, viz. that it was on its way to India as a present from the Emperor to his ally, Tipu Sultan of Mysore, when the vessel entrusted with it was attacked and captured after a hard fight by an East Indiaman, which bore the picture back in triumph to England and delivered it to the Directors. This story was gravely repeated for years to visitors, none of whom seems to have pointed out that Napoleon

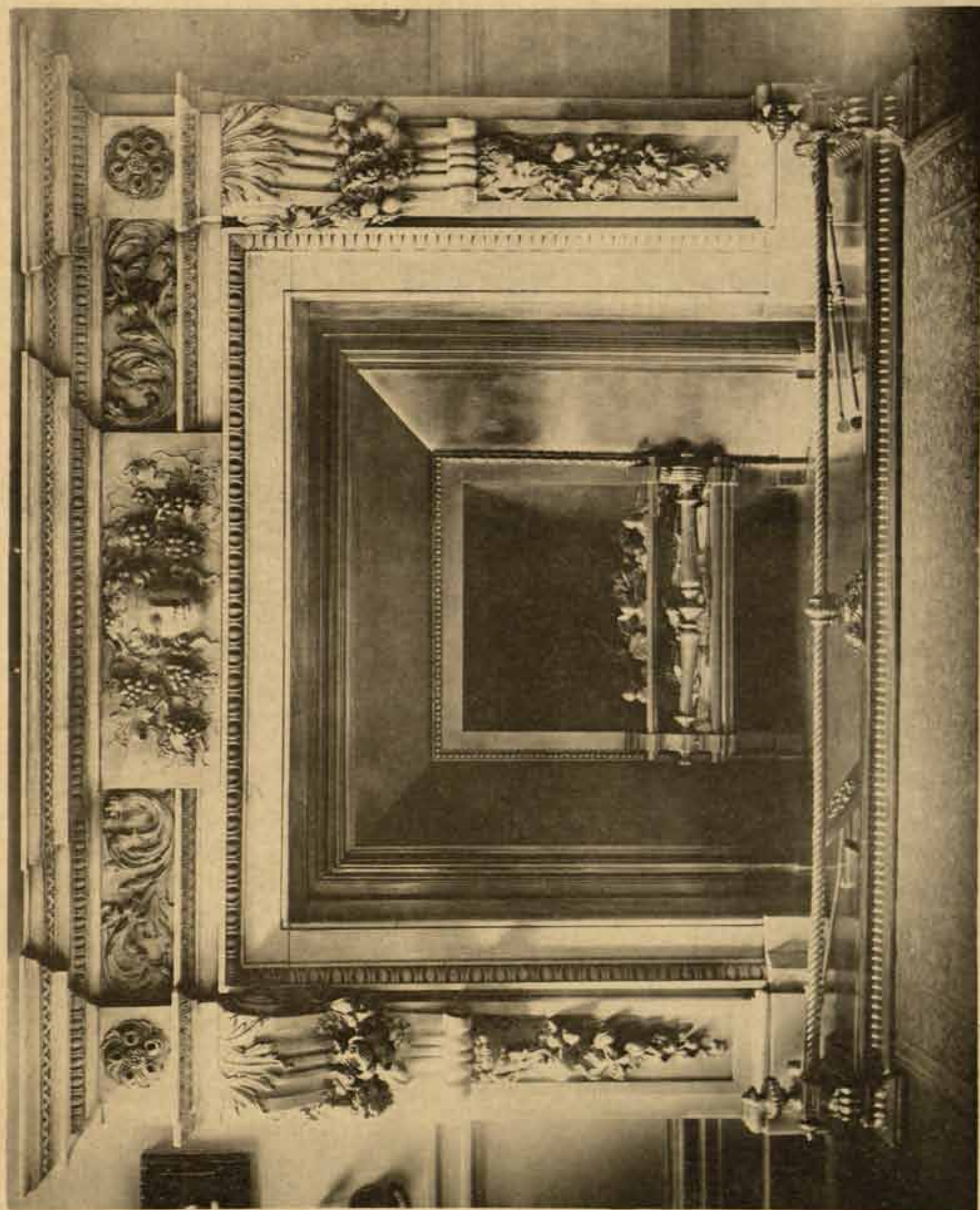
did not become Emperor till five years after Tipu had been slain, and that, as a matter of fact, the canvas is plainly dated 1813—fourteen years after Tipu's death. On search being made in the records the true, but far more commonplace, story came to light. It was then shown that the portrait was painted by J. B. Borely to the order of the Municipal Council of Montpellier, who intended it for the decoration of their hall, in which it was accordingly placed in August, 1813. The following year, however, saw the deposition of the illustrious subject and the restoration of the Bourbons. Thereupon the Council took down the picture and returned it to the artist, who had not yet received his fee. In his hands it remained for five years, when Mr. John Mangles, a London merchant, who happened to be at Montpellier, took a fancy to it, and struck a bargain. After keeping it for some little time he, towards the end of 1820, offered it to the East India Company, a body with whom he had extensive dealings; and they accepted it with many thanks.

Another office legend, which may have had some basis in fact, is to the effect that Napoleon III. much admired this portrait of his great predecessor and desired to possess it; and that his gift to the Company in 1856 of the portraits of himself and his consort, which now hang on the main staircase at the India Office, though nominally made in recognition of the Company's contributions to the Paris Exhibition, was really a bid for the coveted picture.

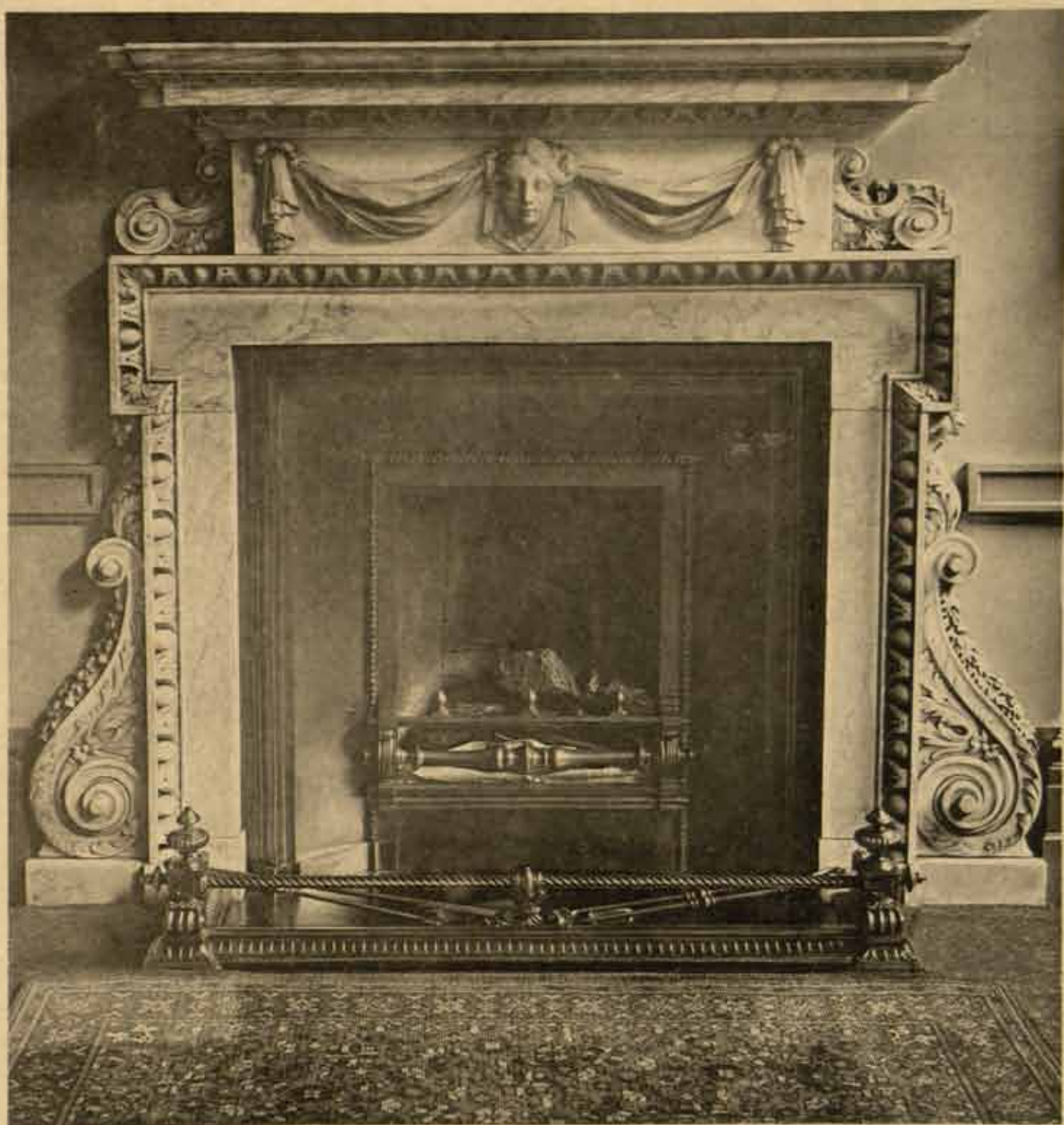
F.



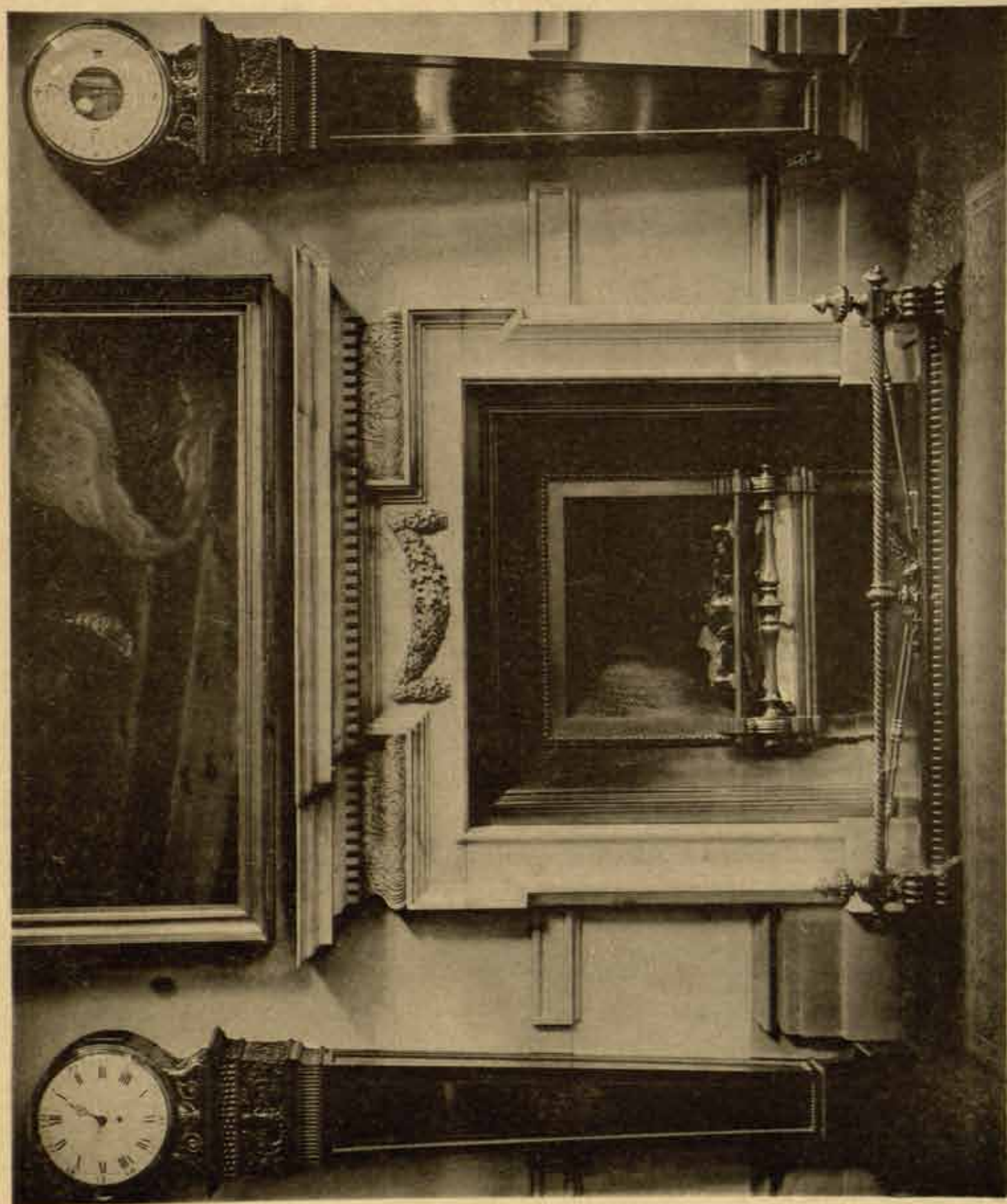
MANTEL-PIECE IN THE COUNCIL ROOM OF THE INDIA OFFICE, ORIGINALLY IN THE DIRECTORS' COURT ROOM OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET.



MANTELPiece IN THE REVENUE COMMITTEE ROOM, INDIA OFFICE, FORMERLY IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET.



MANTEL-PIECE IN FINANCE COMMITTEE ROOM OF INDIA OFFICE, FORMERLY IN THE
MUSEUM OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET.



MANTEL-PIECE IN FINANCE COMMITTEE ROOM, INDIA OFFICE,
FORMERLY IN THE EAST INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET.

THE INNER COURT OF THE INDIA OFFICE.

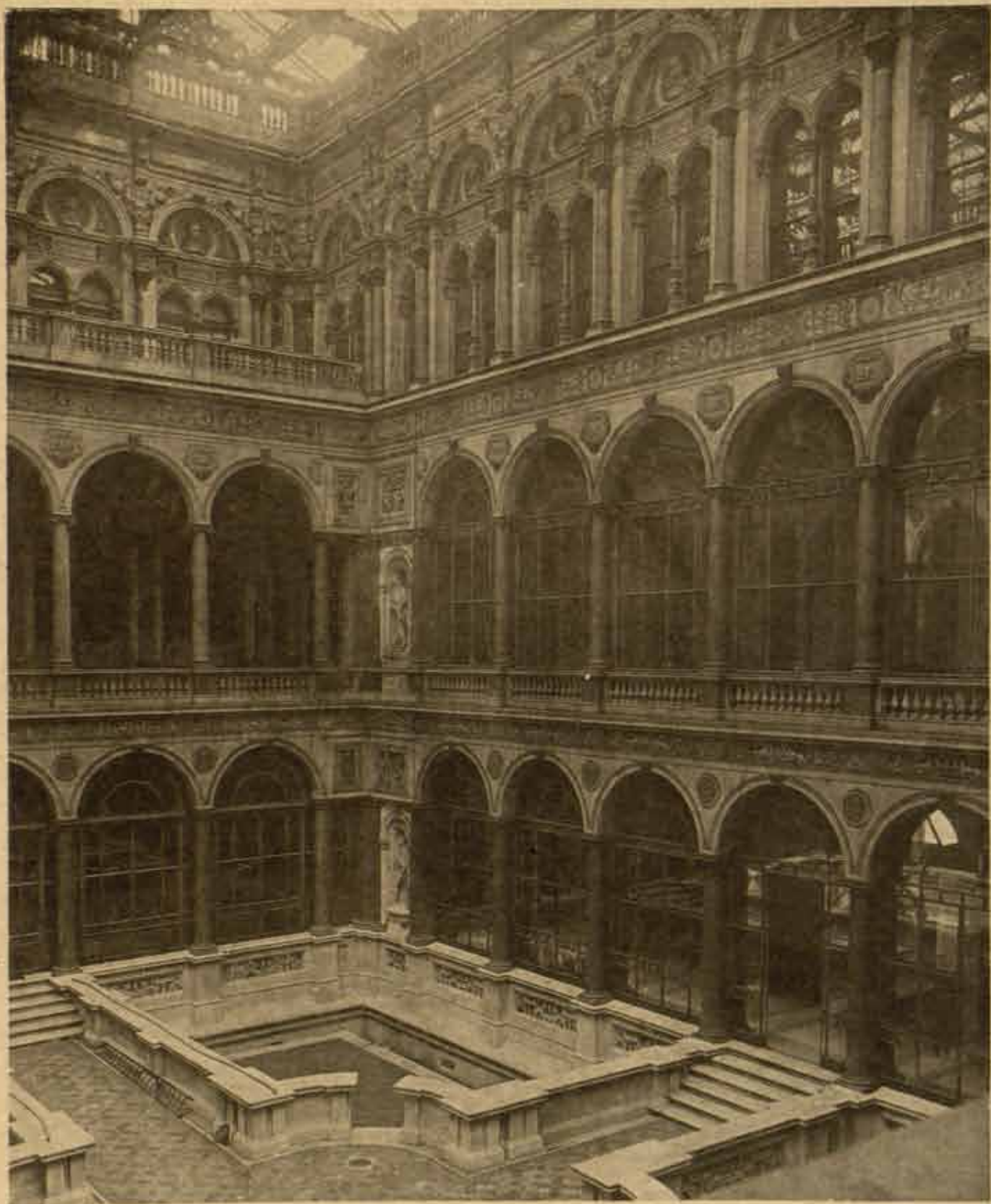
As stated on p. 46, the exterior of the India Office was the work of Sir Gilbert Scott, with but slight assistance from his colleague, Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt. To make matters even, the arrangement of the interior was left mainly in the hands of the latter; and in particular he was permitted to work his will unchecked on the inner court, which lights the Council and Committee Rooms, besides some subordinate parts of the building. The result can hardly be considered satisfactory, for in spite of the richness and variety of materials employed—Portland stone, red and grey granite, Della Robbia ware, mosaics, tiles, etc.—the general effect is heavy and tasteless. Something simpler and more restrained would have been more in keeping with the quiet dignity of the rest of the Office.

In the view here given we are looking at the south-eastern angle and part of the southern side. The court measures 110 feet long by $62\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and its height is about 80 feet. It was covered in, shortly after its completion, with a huge glass roof, of which the ends (with much of the ornamental work) were subsequently removed to admit more light and air. Only a small portion of this roof is shown in the photograph, though some more of it may be seen reflected in the upper windows. The general design of the court consists of three stories of engaged columns and piers supporting arches, the lowest range being of the Doric, the middle of the Ionic, and the top of the Corinthian order. Immediately under the roof is an ornamental balustrade, standing on a deep cornice; and underneath that again we have a series of scroll shields on projections crowning the pillars. Each of these shields bears a letter or a figure, and on reading these in order round the court, commencing at the north-eastern angle, they are found to form the inscription: THIS COURT WAS BUILT A.D. 1866. M. D. WYATT, ARCHITECT. The top range of arches have in their recesses a series of busts—twenty-eight in number—of Anglo-Indian worthies, from Admiral Watson down to the heroes of the Mutiny, each bust having for background an escallop shell with branches of oak and laurel on either side. Above the centre range is a frieze of tiles and mosaics, with at intervals a small portrait of Queen Victoria or the badge of the Star of India. In the spandrels are Della Robbia panels, displaying the Cross and the Crescent. The bottom story has also a frieze, this time of Della Robbia ware, while the spandrels are decorated with fluted discs. At the four angles of the court are niches filled with statues, representing the more distinguished of the Governors-General of Bengal, with the addition of Lord Clive. The two visible in our photograph are, on the ground floor, the Marquess of Hastings, and above him Lord Teignmouth, better known by his former name of Sir John Shore. Just over Lord Hastings' head is a sculptured panel in high relief, depicting the Sikh chiefs laying down their arms before Sir Walter Gilbert in March, 1849, at the close of the second Sikh war; and close to this is another panel with His Lordship's coat of arms. Lord Teignmouth's escutcheon is just above him, while in a neighbouring panel is a

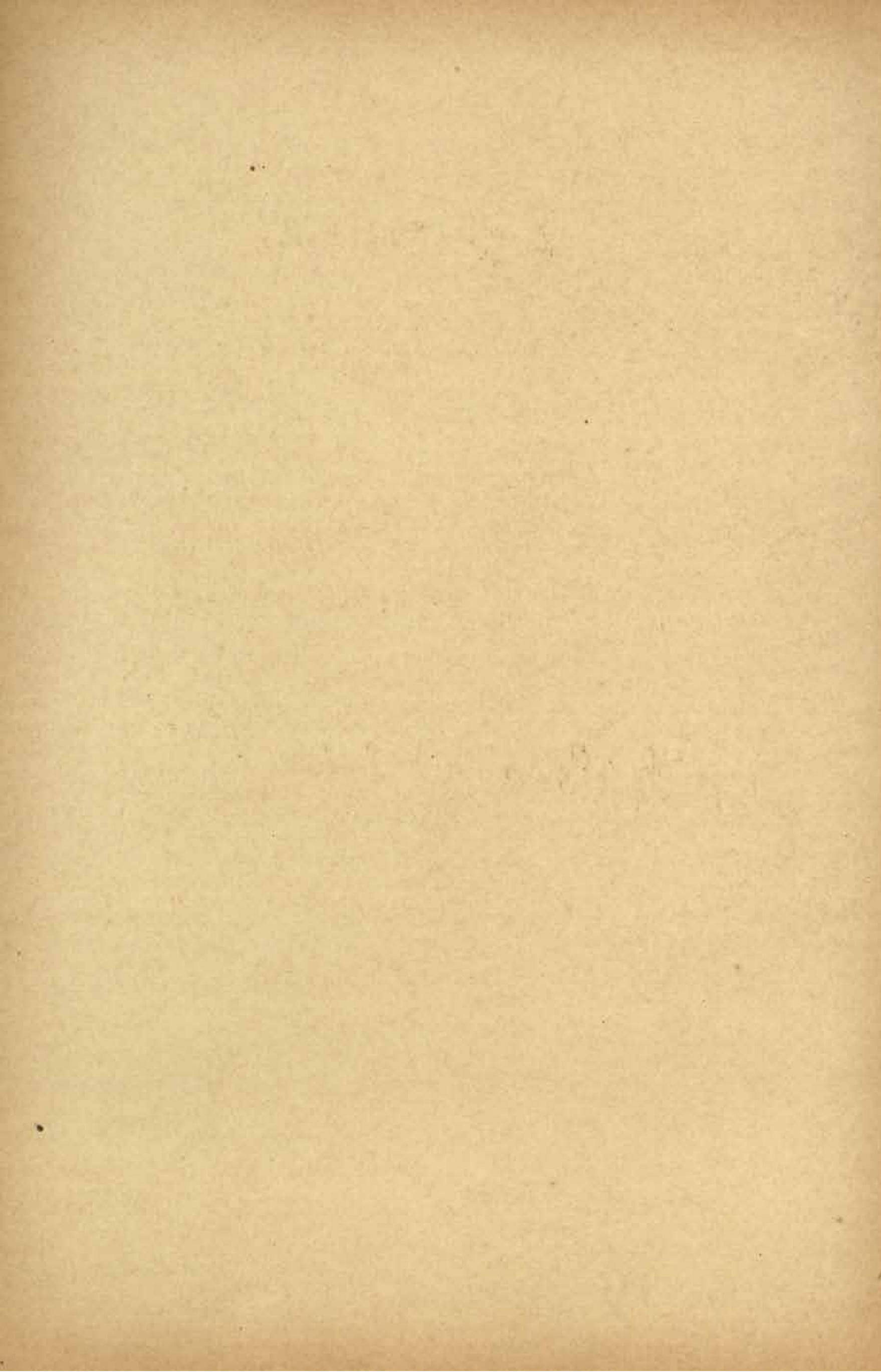
boy with a scroll bearing his motto. Finally, attention may be directed to the balustraded terrace-walks which, at the time when this photograph was taken (1890), divided into sections the floor of the courtyard. This feature has now disappeared, an ornamental marble floor of uniform level having recently been substituted. Under this, we may mention, are capacious and well-ventilated cellars, in which are stored the greater part of the many thousands of volumes of records taken over from the East India Company or since accumulated.

This court has twice been the scene of brilliant festivities, which will long be remembered by those who were privileged to take part in them. The first of these was on July 19, 1867—just after the completion of the building—when a ball was given by the Secretary of State (Sir Stafford Northcote) to the Sultan of Turkey, at which Their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Princess Alice were present. The other took place on July 4, 1902, when the Indian Princes and representatives who had come to this country for the Coronation were received by His Royal Highness the present Prince of Wales, acting on behalf of His Majesty, who was unable to attend owing to his unfortunate illness.

F.



INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL.
COURT YARD.



THE EXTERIOR OF THE INDIA OFFICE.

When in 1858 the Act for the Better Government of India transferred to a newly-created Secretary of State the powers and duties of both the East India Company and the Board of Control, at the same time amalgamating their establishments, it became evident that a special building would have to be erected to accommodate the department thus formed. The offices in Cannon Row, Westminster, which had sufficed for the Board, were far too small for the new body; while that a Secretary of State should have his headquarters in the City of London was quite out of the question. It was soon decided, therefore, that an India Office should be built at Westminster on a portion of the piece of land, lying between Charles Street and Downing Street, which had been acquired by Government in connexion with a project for rebuilding the Foreign and Colonial Offices and erecting a new War Office. This plan was now modified. The idea of moving the War Department from Pall Mall was abandoned, and it was determined that the new India Office should occupy the ground thus made available, namely, that portion of the site which faced Parliament Street, where now the Home Office stands. As the Foreign and India Offices were to form one building, it was resolved to employ for the latter the architect already engaged for the former; and accordingly at the beginning of 1859 Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. Gilbert Scott was entrusted with the task of designing the new home of the Secretary of State for India. With him was associated (for this purpose) Mr. (later Sir) Matthew Digby Wyatt, who was then the Clerk of the Works at the India Office.

The design of the new buildings became the subject of a long and impassioned controversy, which was known as "the Battle of the Styles." Scott's accepted plan was for a Gothic building; but there was at that time a certain reaction against that style, and the new Houses of Parliament were held up as terrible examples of how inconvenient internally such a building could be. Gothic, it was said, was all very well for churches or halls, but quite out of place for other purposes. Amongst others, Lord Palmerston took this view, and with his usual emphasis declared in Parliament that the proposal was equivalent to "going back to the dark ages for a building which ought to belong to the times in which we live." At this date (February, 1859) Palmerston was in opposition, and his opinions on the subject did not appear to be of vital importance; but when, five months later, Lord Derby's Government was overturned and Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister, the case assumed a different aspect. Scott was required to submit a fresh design in the Italian style. He complied, after some opposition, by producing a semi-Byzantine elevation, with details drawn from the early Venetian palaces. This was in turn rejected; and in September, 1860, Scott was plainly told that he must either prepare a design more in accordance with Lord Palmerston's ideas or submit to have his appointment cancelled. About the same time it was settled that, as Sir Charles Wood was not satisfied with the proposed site, the India Office should be erected on the other side of the Foreign Office, with

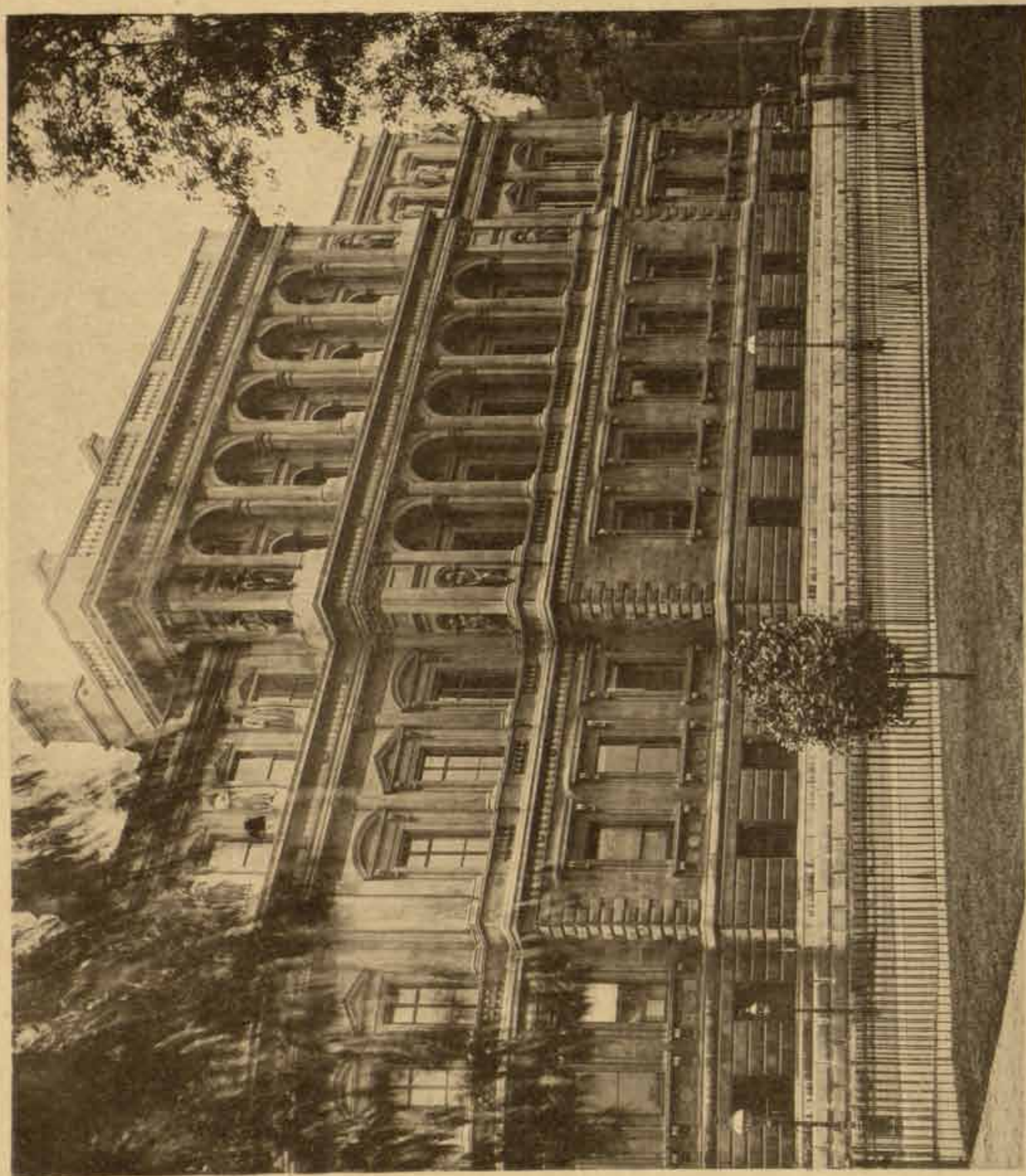
frontages to the Park and Charles Street. This involved the demolition of the State Paper Office, which then stood at the upper end of Duke Street.

At this point Scott was strongly inclined to throw up his task in disgust. Digby Wyatt and other friends, however, persuaded him to abandon this idea, urging that it was manifestly the right of his employers to prescribe the style in which the building should be erected. He therefore set to work afresh, and succeeded in producing a round-arched Italian design which gave complete satisfaction. Of this he writes (*Recollections*, p. 200):—"The India Office externally was wholly my design, though I had adopted an idea as to its grouping and outline suggested by a sketch of Mr. Digby Wyatt's. This I thought very excellent, although in his own drawing he had done but little justice to the conception. Lord Palmerston highly approved of the design, and it passed the House of Commons in the session of 1861, after a very stout fight by the Gothic party."

The controversy having thus been settled, the erection of the building was begun, the contractors being Messrs. Smith and Taylor, who completed their task in the summer of 1867. The material employed externally was Portland stone, sparingly relieved by inlayings of red and white granite. The building stands on rather more than an acre of ground, and has a general height of 95 feet, though the tower rises to 140 feet and the top of the flagstaff is 45 feet higher still.

The view here given of the Office as seen from the Park omits the tower, which is the most striking feature of the building; but the main façade is clearly shown. To the extreme left (of the spectator) two of the windows of the Secretary of State's room on the first floor may be distinguished. The balcony above is obscured by the projecting boughs of a tree. The statues between the windows on the second floor are emblematic female figures, and the groups of river gods and attendants seen at the wings are intended to represent the Ganges and the Indus respectively. The eight statues which grace the corners of the central façade are those of the eight Governors-General of India down to Lord Lawrence, who was in office when the building was finished. The two top figures on the left are Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, while those below are Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning. On the other side are seen Lord Hardinge and (underneath) Lord Elgin; the remaining two—Lords Ellenborough and Lawrence—are not shown in the photograph. At the extreme right appear the steps leading down from Charles Street.

F.



EXTERIOR OF INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, LONDON.
View from St. James' Park.

A LETTER FROM MRS. DANIEL DRAPER,

DATED TELLICHERRY, APRIL, 1769.

This letter, now [1908] in the British Museum, from Sterne's "Eliza," was lent to me [1890] for reproduction in the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1891, by Col. Francis Grant, formerly of the 5th Lancers, who purchased it—for just 7/6!—of Mr. Edward Daniell, the well-known book-seller of 53 Mortimer Street.

The document is of considerable interest, for it not only affords a clue to the identification of the parentage of Mrs. Daniel Draper, but illustrates, in a familiar manner, a critical time in the history of the British conquest of the Deccan—the close of "the first war in Mysore."

Hyder Ali had made himself master of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Mysore in 1760-1; and in 1766 invaded Calicut, when the last of the Zamorins of that petty state burned himself in his palace to avoid capture. On this a confederacy against the usurper was formed by the Mahrattas with the Nizam of Hyderabad, into which the Madras Government were drawn, through their treaty with the Nizam. But Hyder Ali not only bought off both the Mahrattas and the Nizam, but induced the latter to join him against the English. Thus, without warning, Col. Joseph Smith, who commanded the contingent supplied by the Madras Government, suddenly found himself, with only 7,000 men and 16 guns, opposed by an overwhelming native force of 70,000 men and 100 guns. He, however, routed them with a terrible slaughter and took 60 of their guns. The Nizam at once sued for peace, signed in 1768. The terms stipulated that the English should occupy a portion of the Carnatic Balaghat [literally "Above-Ghat," *i.e.* the table-land of Mysore], and accordingly, while Col. Smith entered the Baramahal ["Twelve Forts"] of Mysore [now the Salem District of the Madras Presidency], an auxiliary force, far too small for the purpose, was sent from Bombay to Tellicherry to invade the Mysorean plateau from the west. The Bombay Expedition was at first very fortunate, destroying Hyder Ali's fleet, and capturing Mangalore and Honore. But on the advance of his army they had hastily to abandon these places, leaving their sick and wounded behind them. Col. Smith, however, had been most successful in the Baramahal, and in spite of Hyder Ali's reconquest of the Malabar Coast, up to the walls of Tellicherry, he was glad to sue for peace. This the Madras Government foolishly refused; and, at the same time, still more foolishly superseded Col. Smith. His successor in six weeks lost all that had previously been gained; when the Madras Government hurriedly replaced Col. Smith in his command. But it was too late. Hyder Ali, by forced marches, unexpectedly appeared before Fort St. George; and there, on the basis of an alliance against the Mahrattas, dictated to the vacillating Government of Madras the terms of a most humiliating peace, in April, 1769. Harry Verelst was then Governour of Bengal, 1767-9; Charles Bouchier of Madras, 1767-70; and Thomas Hodges of Bombay, 1767-71.

Such are the surrounding circumstances of Mrs. Draper's letter, dated from "Tellicherry, April, 1769."

Tellicherry, on account of facilities its port afforded as a centre of the pepper and cardamom trade of Malabar, had been the seat of one of the Company's Factories from 1683. The Factory was reduced in 1766 to a Residency; but the place again became of the first importance to the Company during the wars with Hyder Ali and his son Tippu-Sahib, as the basis of operations from the Malabar Coast against the Carnatic. "Mount Dilly," mentioned in the letter, in Portuguese Monte d'Eli, is the Malabari *Eli-Mala*, i.e. "High Mountain," famous in mediæval times as a prominent landmark to ships approaching India from the west.

The *Grenville*, by which the present letter was sent home, was an "East India-man" of 499 tons, commanded by Captain Burnet Abercromby, and the India Office Records show that she arrived in the Downs, on her second return voyage from "Madras and Bombay," on the 3rd of November, 1769. The letter is endorsed as having been received by the person to whom it was addressed, the 5th idem. Who that person was does not appear. He was interested in some one of the baptismal name of Stephen; and may possibly have been Mr. Daniel Draper's great friend, Commodore James of the Indian Marine, who was on the Bombay station from 1747 to 1759; when he returned to England, enriched with the booty of Severndroog, and became Chairman of the East India Company, Governour of Greenwich Hospital, an M.P., and a baronet. He died in 1782. Mrs. James was Miss Goddard, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Goddard, of St. Anne's, Westminster.

Mrs. Daniel Draper was born at Anjengo, 5 April, 1744; and Col. Welsh, in his *Military Reminiscences*, published in 1830, records how, when visiting the place, he carried off, as a memorial of her, two or three pieces of oyster shell, or "mother of pearl," from the broken windows of her house there. I quote this from Mr. James Douglas's delightful book, *Round about Bombay*, in which he condenses in a short chapter all the hitherto known facts of this fascinating lady's romantic career. It has always hitherto been said that her parentage was unknown; but her mention in the letter of "Tom Whitehill, my kind uncle," affords a clue, which I must leave others, having more leisure than myself, to work out.¹ A little lower down she names "Jack Whitehill . . . at Madras"; and he can be none other than John Whitehill, who was acting Governour of Madras in 1777-78, and again in 1780, when, on account of the incompetency he shewed in his dealings with the Nizam and Hyder Ali, he was peremptorily dismissed by Warren Hastings.

Mr. Daniel Draper, who entered the Company's service in 1749, and was at Gombroon in 1751, married "Eliza" on the 28th July, 1758, and went with her to England in 1765. He returned to India alone in 1765, she following him in 1767, in the East India Company's ship the *Earl of Chatham*, which, I find from the India Office Records, sailed from the Downs 3rd April, 1767, and was lost on her return voyage to England, 13th October, 1768. This was the period of "Eliza's" correspondence with Sterne, with whom she became acquainted at the house of the James's in London. Mr. James Douglas says that the Drapers lived in Bombay, at Belvedere or Mazagon House, continuously from 1768 to 1772. But the present letter proves that they were

¹ The clue was worked out in Mr. Sidney Lee's article on Sterne, published, 1898, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where Eliza is shewn to be the daughter of May Sclater of the Bombay Civil Service, who had married a Miss Whitehill.

both at Tellicherry in 1769, while "Eliza's Tree," which was to be seen at Masulipatam, until it was unfortunately washed away by the cyclone of 1864, seems to indicate that at some time the Drapers must have been stationed on the Coromandel Coast. In 1772 Eliza eloped, out of one of the upper windows of Belvedere, with Sir John Clark of the Royal Navy; and in 1778 died, aged 35, at Bristol; where a monument in the Cathedral commemorates her "genius and benevolence"; but not the bewitching little woman's pitiful folly. Mr. Draper himself returned permanently to Europe in 1782.

Mrs. Draper's attack on Governour Hodges is fully justified by his half-hearted support of the expedition sent from Bombay to Tellicherry; and her references to his Hindu astrologer are deeply interesting. Mr. James Douglas has much to say about this man. He had many years before said that Hodges would be Governour of Bombay. He also prophesied that the night of the 22nd of February, 1771, would be dangerous to his master, and the next morning Hodges was found sitting up in his bed, with his forefinger on his lips, as if enjoining silence, stark dead.

Col. Pemble, the husband of the "Louisa" of the letter, was James Pemble, who as a Major commanded under Monro at the battle of Buxar, 23rd October, 1764; and was subsequently transferred to the Bombay Presidency. He became a Lieut.-Col. in 1767, and commanded the Bombay troops in Malabar in 1769. Of the civilian, Mr. Banister, I have found no trace.

The epistolary use by Mrs. Draper of the name "Mount Dilly," so late as 1769, is a little remarkable. "Cooly boats," "Malawans," "Madraseres," and "gloriously hated," are epithets and phrasings new to me. "Phesendars," *i.e.* "Fazendars," were originally the collectors, or rather farmers, of the King's taxes under the Portuguese. They resembled the Zamindars under the Mahomedan administration. Later the term came to mean "superior landlord," but now it is applied, as a high-sounding compliment, to any cultivator of Portuguese extraction; just as among the Hindus and Mahomedans the term *zamindar* is now used of the pettiest landowners.

In conclusion, I may add that under Col. Smith served the Col. Donald Campbell whom Eliza Draper desired to marry to Sterne's daughter Lydia. This letter indeed strikes the key-note of a capital historical novel of the English in India in the eighteenth century.

B.

My Dear Sir

It's with great pleasure I take every opportunity of paying my Duty to you but more particularly this by the Grenville, as by this I'm enabled to give you a better account of Mr Drapers Success as a Merchant, than he flattered himself with any hopes of, upon his arrival at Tellicherry, and if Fortune continues to be as propitious to us, the six ensuing Seasons, as she's proved the last, - Mr D. would not thank the Directors for recommending him to the Government of Bombay. We are both well & contented and wish not to exchange our Situation, but for an Independence in England, which I hope we are in the way of obtaining, and may accomplish in six or seven Years, notwithstanding Hyder Ally maintains his Ground, and has absolutely refused to listen to terms of Peace from the Madrasers, unless they will make over Trichinopoly to him. This, they think they can not in point of Honor, or Conscience do - tho' they are heartily tired of the War, & wish to accommodate with him, on reasonable Terms - They are now preparing for a long Siege, which he has threatened them with, and if they do not receive Supplies of Money, & Troops, from England.

God knows what will be their fate: as Hyder is really a very clever, & enterprising Man, - accustomed to face, & conquer Europeans and has for his secret adviser, one of the best Politicians in India, Governor, Laws of Pondicherry. Whom it is imagined, has always planned each of his campaigns; the Gentlemen of Bengal have drained their Treasury, to defend those of Madras - but the Governor of Bombay - will not consent to assist them in any respect. that he has often been solicited to do it - and a little timely aid from our Side, might have prevented the present melancholy prospect; but he says he has no notion of Quixotic adventures, and as we cannot benefit by the troubles, he will not risk one suffering any loss for this argument is very cool, & superficial, tho' at first it may appear shrewd, & impolitic too, because if the Madrasers are worsted, we certainly shall be the Great Prey - but that's a distant Day, & he always quotes "Sufficient to the Day is the Evil thereof." but he is a poor, despicable Creature, in every respect and as unfit for a Governor - as I am for an Archbishop. Not one Individual, is there at Bombay, his friend, - and in short, he has no - or deserves to be, loved, esteem'd, or feared. We are very particularly interested in Hyders Success, at this Settlement. as he has most of

the Country powers, about us, in total Subjection, & Infests our
Coast, with his Fleet, to intercept our Merchantmen, there's no
leaving us, now for Bombay, with any safety, without a Convoy. &
the Bombay Cruisers, three or four of them, are stationed between
Carnar, there & Mount Dilly, for that purpose. we are terribly
infested too, by the Booty Boats, & Mallanans. the Morattas, had
the Insolence to surround Bombay with their Fleet a few months
since, which did not a little terrify - our Pusillanimous Generals,
but they soon dispersed when the Commodore received Permission
to ask them some questions. its imagined this Bearado was
effected at the Instigation of Hyder, to Divert us from all thoughts
of sending Troops to Madras, it answered his hopes - but if
he had bribed the Governors Brahmin to be his friend, it would
have done as well - for nothing in Public, or domestic concerns, is
transacted at Bombay, without that Villains knoledge & consent
Some of the Gentlemen by way of Reprimand, have advised Mr
Hodges to give him a seat at Council. our Island is now very
Populous - very extensive, very improvable, & would be very
flourishing, if we had a proper Man at the head of affairs.
This

This Coast has been vastly injured by Hyder's Ravages. 'tis
nothing in comparison to what it was some years ago. but would
still be the source of profit to the Company, if a Tellicherry Chief
if the War was once happily terminated. - Most of the Gentlemen
that distinguished themselves, by behaving ill at Mangalore,
have been booke by a general Court Martial at Bombay. it was
a tedious affair - lasting upwards of six Weeks, tho' the members
met Daily. - This my dear Sir, is all the Public Intelligence, I can
recollect, worthy of transmitting you. and now for a little private,
Tom Whitehill, my kind Uncle, is well - I often hear from him, &
he must by all accounts, have made himself independant, by this
time. he is increasing his Family of Natural Children, but
declared to me, that he never would give them more than five
thousand Rupees each, because he would not tempt any
Gentleman to marry them for the sake of Money. and he had
rather dispose of them to Peshendars of their own Colour - than
to Europeans - he has one Daughter marriageable, two young ones,
& two or three infant sons. - I never hear from Jack Whitehill.
but I know he is well, from my Correspondents at Madras.
I hope he does not maintain Silence to his English friends, as

Should he be a good Accountant & write swiftly. Mr. Dwyer
would be very glad of him here - make it worth his while, and
keep him out of harm's way. as he is in want of just such a
Person, you know his inability to use the Pen - he has lost his
two Clerks too, & if I was not capable of assisting & maintaining
his Correspondence for him I know not what he would do, at this
juncture. I only fulfil my Duty, and have not the least merit in
it - as a good Purveyor that thoroughly understood English and
shelled properly - would answer his Purposes still better. Louisa is
very advantageously married, to the Commander of our Forces, a
Colonel Pemble, he is handsome, amiable and magnificent in
his temper - his Income amounts to thirty thousand Rupees a
Year - but I fear they stand little chance of saving a Fortune, as
they are Gay - extravagant, & fond of Company, but I know not if
it signifies much - as they love India - are healthy, admired, and
esteemed here - and not very desirous of exchanging affluence ⁱⁿ the East for

friendship, and is at times in spirit, and occasional good words.
They are on no terms with the Governor, neither visiting, or being
visited by him. A Mr Paxton, that is much older than yourself
& formerly knew you in the service, now resides here - he desired me
to present his kindest remembrances to you, assuring you of his
unalterable esteem, & good wishes. The good Man & his Wife live very
comfortably - are well, and much noticed with respectful attention.
I hope to be favoured with long & interesting letters from Europe by the
next Ship - England, which was always dear to me - was never so kind
to us now - the Welfare of my dear Children, sits very near my heart,
& I cannot help feeling great anxiety on their accounts, tho' I am
confident of Mrs Whitehill's care, and best attention to their true
Interest, God preserve the poor babes, may they live to give satisfaction
to their Parents - and reflect honour on their amiable Protectress. I
hope you had an agreeable Summer in the Society of my friend and
little

by presenting my compliments to the same, and ever wishes for his well-being
and enjoyment of England; but now strikes him out Head again, sends
to Heaven he had not left us a Day to the foolish policy, and late words
of Mr. Hedges. The strike is entirely general. Not a honest Eye, or graceful
countenance will be visible on his Departure, unless it's his Female
suffering. Short answer, for a few Rubies, or new form's sake. It's he is
gloriously hated, and I prophesize, ever will be so - even by the
Wife of his Broome - if he is bold enough with his jealous protest
and selfish particularities, to make a second choice. But no - his
divine will prevent his marrying again, for a good Woman would be loath
his Walter with such an Insultance as he is self - and as bad one.

happy - pray & your ever grateful and

Edwin Draper

Tellicherry
April 1769

P.S.

Mr Draper presents you his respectful
Compliments, with the
of his doing every thing in his power for
to Bombay.
He hopes, if you see

received the other
1769

THE PRESENTATION AND CONSECRATION OF COLOURS.

These two photo-chromographs are reproductions from two water-colour paintings by Henry Matthews hanging in the Military Committee Room of the India Office.

The first painting is of the late Honourable East India Company's Second Regiment of Royal East India Volunteers, taken on the spot, while receiving their colours from the hands of Lady Jane Dundas [daughter of the then Earl of Hope-toun, and wife of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, President of the India Board], in Lord's Cricket Ground, Mary le Bone, on the 27th of July, 1797: and the second depicts the presentation, by Lady Jane Dundas, after the consecration of them, of their colours to the Third Regiment of the Company's Volunteers on the 29th of June, 1799.

With reference to the first painting, I quote the following paragraph from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 28th of July, 1797:—"Yesterday noon the 2nd Regiment of East India Volunteers were reviewed in Lord's Cricket Ground, under the command of Captain English, to receive their colours from the fair hand of Lady Jane Dundas. A suitable exhortation was delivered by the Chaplain of the Regiment, and after the ceremony the officers adjourned to the London Tavern to partake of an elegant entertainment provided by their Colonel, at which were present, with the India Directors, the Earl of Mornington, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Anstruther, and a number of other noblemen."

The *Morning Chronicle* of Monday, the 1st of July, 1799, also gives an account of the presentation of their colours to the Third Regiment, on the previous Saturday:—"The Third Regiment of Royal East India Volunteers received their colours on Saturday last from the hand of Lady Jane Dundas, in Lord's Cricket Ground. The day being very favourable, a number of ladies and gentlemen of distinction were in the ground, who partook of an elegant Entertainment prepared by order of the East India Military Committee. It is but justice to observe that this Regiment is in no respect inferior in point of appearance and discipline to the first and second. At one o'clock the men marched back and were sumptuously regaled in their Drill-room in Bishops-gate Street. The three Regiments of Royal East India Volunteers comprise one thousand five hundred men."

There are numerous official notices, extending over twenty years, of the three regiments of the Honourable Company's Royal East India Volunteers; and the following are from the Court Minutes:—

August 24, 1796:—"Resolved unanimously that the following plan for more effectually securing the Warehouses of the Company against hazard from Insurrection or Tumults be adopted, provided the same meet the approbation of Government. That two Regiments of Volunteers be formed by the East India Company, to consist of ten companies, each of at least 50 Rank and File, with the following arrangement of officers: For each Regiment, 1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 2 Majors, 10 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 10 Ensigns, 20 Drummers, 500 Rank and File. The Field Officers to

be selected from the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Directors. The Commissioned Officers from the officers of the India House, the Adjutants excepted, and the non-commissioned Officers and Privates from the Assistant Elders, Commodores, and Laborers [*sic*, thus anticipating the abominable spelling of late Census forms] belonging to the Company's warehouses, with the exception of Sergeant-Major or such other non-commissioned officers as the Court may see necessary."

"The officers to have Commissions from His Majesty, but no pay. The non-Commissioned Officers and Privates to have no levy money, and to have no addition to their present pay unless called out on duty, when they are to have one shilling for extra work from the Company, *as is now usual*. The Company to find clothing; Government to find arms. . . To be liable to be called to any part in London, or within the environs of London, by order from His Majesty, or by the Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex, or by the Lord Lieutenancy [*sic*] of London, or by the Lord Mayor of London, for the suppression of Riots and Tumults. . . The Officers to have Regimentals of Scarlet, turned up with Black, Buff Waistcoats and Breeches. The Company's arms and motto on their Gorget, *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ*. The buttons to have the Company's crest, a lion, and 'East India Company' as inscription. The Privates to have a Jacket, Leather Cap, and Black Stock, until disciplined, when they will have a proper Parade Uniform."

"That the Field Officers be elected by Ballot in the Court from such Gentlemen as chuse to volunteer."

September 7, 1796:—David Scott, Esq., Chairman, appointed Colonel of the 1st Regiment; and Hugh Inglis, Esq., of the 2nd Regiment. The latter, afterward Sir Hugh Inglis, is probably the "Captain English" of the *Morning Chronicle* extract of 28th July, 1797.

September 14, 1796:—the following officers appointed:—The 1st Regiment—Sir Lionell Darell, Bart., Lt.-Col.; Charles Mills, Esq., Lt.-Col.; Robert Thornton, Esq., Major; Stephen Williams, Esq., Major. The 2nd Regiment—William Bensley, Esq. [afterward Sir William Bensley], Lt.-Col.; Abraham Robarts, Esq., Lt.-Col.; Hon. William Elphinstone, Major; Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Esq., Major. On the 25 October following George Woodford Thellusson was appointed a Major to the 2nd Regiment.

May 23, 1798:—His Majesty's acceptance of the services of the Company's 1st and 2nd Regiments notified.

April 10, 1799:—resolved that each Field Officer of the Company's three Regiments of Royal East India Volunteers be furnished with a copy of a publication by Mr. Ackerman of the Royal Volunteers in their respective uniforms.

October 21, 1801:—a letter read from Lord Hobart, stating that in consequence of the ratification of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, he is commanded to express His Majesty's "deep and lasting sense of the steady attachment to our established constitution, and of that Loyalty, Spirit, Perseverance, which had been manifested by the several corps of Yeomanry and Volunteers in every part of the Kingdom," and requested to communicate a copy of this letter to the commanding officers of each battalion of the Royal East India Volunteers, to be read to their respective corps when next assembled.

May 5, 1802:—letter read from the Secretary to the Speaker enclosing a copy of the Thanks of the House of Commons to be communicated to the Honourable East India Company's Volunteer Corps.

May 26, 1802:—the three Regiments reduced by ballot to 400 Rank and File each, and the Artillery Corps, of which this is the first notice I have found, disbanded.

June 8, 1803:—the three Regiments placed upon their original establishment of 500 Rank and File each; and the Artillery Company re-established; also a military guard established for the additional security by night of the Company's Warehouses and Armories in New Street.

August 24, 1803:—the Thanks of the House of Commons again conveyed to the Company's Volunteer Corps through a letter from the Speaker.

April 6, 1804:—letter received from General Lord Harrington, commanding the London District, requesting the Court of Directors to "give notice to the Brigade of Royal East India Volunteers that they are to hold themselves in readiness to march, at a moment's warning, on the first appearance of an enemy, to such Points as shall be directed."

August 14, 1805:—"The Chairman stated that in consequence of the state of public affairs, it had been suggested to him that it would be desirable to make an offer to Government of the Brigade of Royal East India Volunteers, proceeding by Regiments in succession, on permanent duty, for a limited period, and that Government had been pleased to accept the same."

May 2, 1813:—the Chairman, or in his absence the Deputy Chairman, or in *his* absence, the Senior Officer of the Brigade, authorised in case of exigency to order the Brigade under arms.

September 14, 1814:—"A Report from the Committee of Correspondence dated this day being read, stating that they have taken into consideration the present state of the establishment of the corps of Royal East India Volunteers, the expense of which appears to have amounted, upon an average of four years, to £20,103 per annum, submitting as their opinion that in consequence of the political changes which have taken place, their services can be no longer required, and the present situation of the Company by no means justifies the heavy charge which the continuance of the corps under any modification would entail upon their Finances, recommending, therefore, the following Propositions for the adoption of the Court, viz.:—That the corps be disembodied. That the thanks of the Court be given to the Field Officers, Captains and Subalterns for their great attention to the formation and discipline of the corps; also to the non-commissioned Officers and Privates, for their several good conduct upon all occasions. That Major Cunningham be required to inspect the guns, arms, and accoutrements of the Brigade, and to report thereon, with the view of appropriating such as shall be found to be serviceable to the use of the Company's army in India."

"Resolved that this Court approve the said Report."

September 21, 1814:—the above Resolutions approved by the General Court.

October 5, 1814:—letter, dated 30th September, read from Lord Viscount Exmouth, Secretary of State for the Home Department, stating that H.R.H. the Prince Regent "entertains a just sense of the Public Spirit and Liberality which induced the Company at a moment of great difficulty and alarm to raise and maintain, without expense to the Public, so numerous, respectable, and valuable a force," and requesting that "H.R. Highness's entire approbation of their conduct and services" be signified to the Officers and Men of the Corps.

October 18, 1814:—a gratuity of £2 to every Sergeant, £1 10/- to every Corporal, and £1 to every Private of the Corps made. Also 100 guineas presented to Major

Cunningham, the Brigade Major, and the same sum to each of the Adjutants, viz., Captain Dickinson of the 1st Regiment, Capt. Lloyd of the 2nd, and Capt. Barnard of the 3rd, and also to Capt. Jackson of the Artillery, for the purchase of a piece of plate in testimony of the Court's approbation of their conduct in relation to the Discipline and Efficiency of the Brigade.

April 5, 1815:—fifty-four Labourers, who had served as Sergeants in the Corps of Royal East India Volunteers, to have special allowances of pay until promoted to be Commodores [*i.e.* of the Warehouses]. Also Mr. Eley, late Master of the Band, presented with £100.

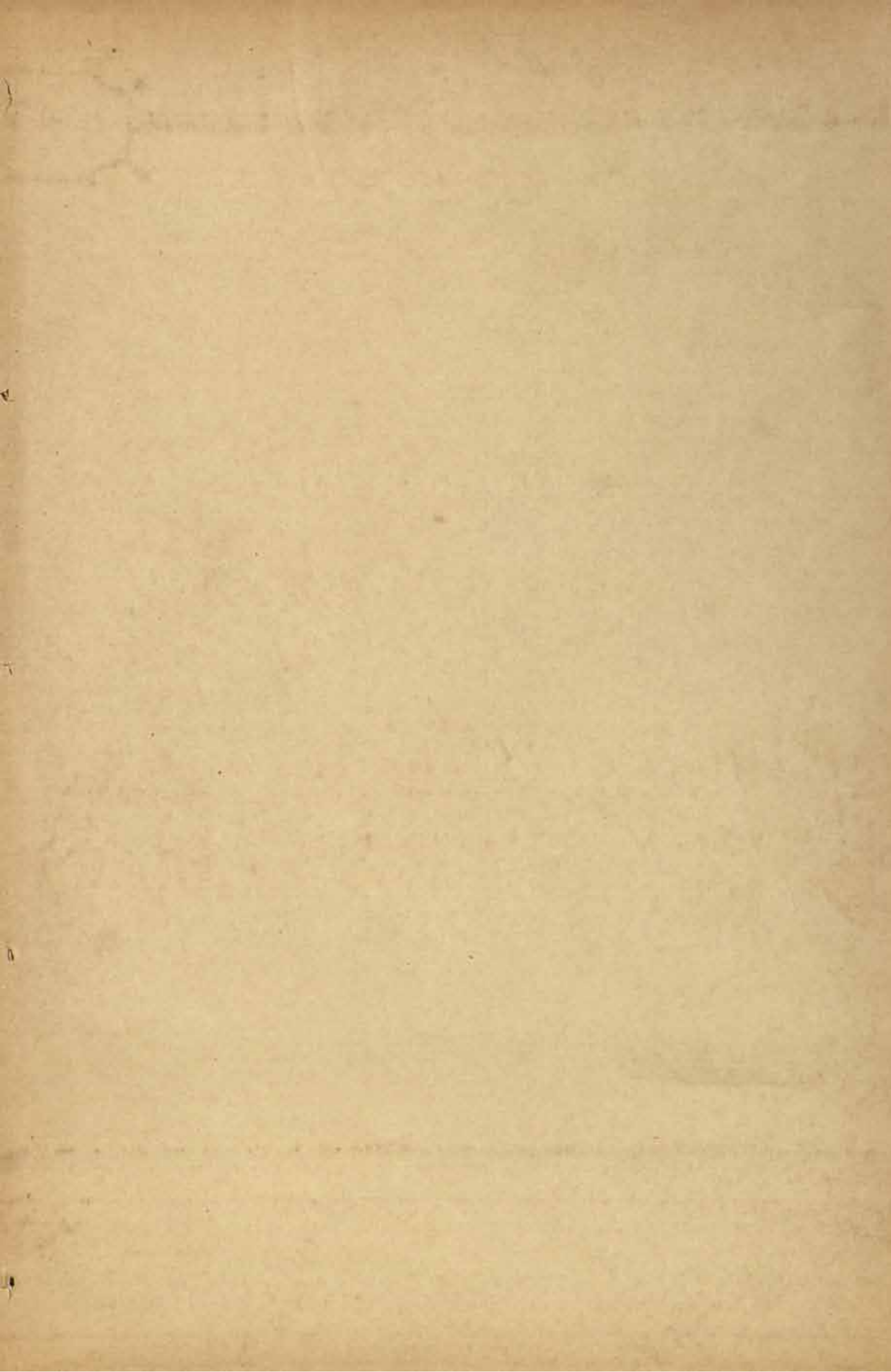
From the Accounts Department I learn that on April 20, 1880, Mr. J. J. Hope, on his retirement from the post of Office Keeper, was allowed to count his service for pension from the date of his enrolment as a drummer-boy in the band of the Brigade, in one of the regiments of which his father was a Sergeant. Mr. Hope is still [January, 1891] living at Bridgwater in Somersetshire, and there are other survivors of the Royal East India Volunteers.

The title of "Commodore," mentioned above, under date of April 5, 1815, was derived from the Portuguese *Commendador*, through the Dutch *Kommadoor*, and continued to be borne by the highest grade of the Old India House "Messengers" down to the abolition of the Company in 1858. Several of these "Commodores" are still living, and one, Mr. James Lawson, is [1891] in the active service of the Secretary of State for India, but no longer under his former picturesque denomination [see *Report on the Old Records of India*, Messrs. Allen and Co.'s edition, 1891, page 55, foot-note].

There are many more names given in the Office entries relating to the Volunteers, but I have confined myself to citing those only to which more or less interest still attaches.

The public events covered by the period of the existence of the Brigade of the Royal East India Volunteers were the Suspension of Cash Payments, 25 February, 1797; the death of Burke, 9 July, 1797; the Irish Rebellion, May, 1798; the Battle of the Nile, 1 August, 1798; Hatfield's attempt on the life of George III., 15 May, 1810; the seizure of the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen, 2 April, 1801; the PEACE OF AMIENS, 10 October, 1801; the WAR WITH FRANCE, 18 May, 1803; the Battle of Trafalgar [and death of Nelson], 21 October, 1805; the death of Pitt, 23 March, and of Fox, 13 September, 1806; the Regency of George IV., 5 February, 1811; the Luddite Riots of November, 1811; and the PEACE WITH FRANCE, 14 April, and with America, 24 December, 1814.

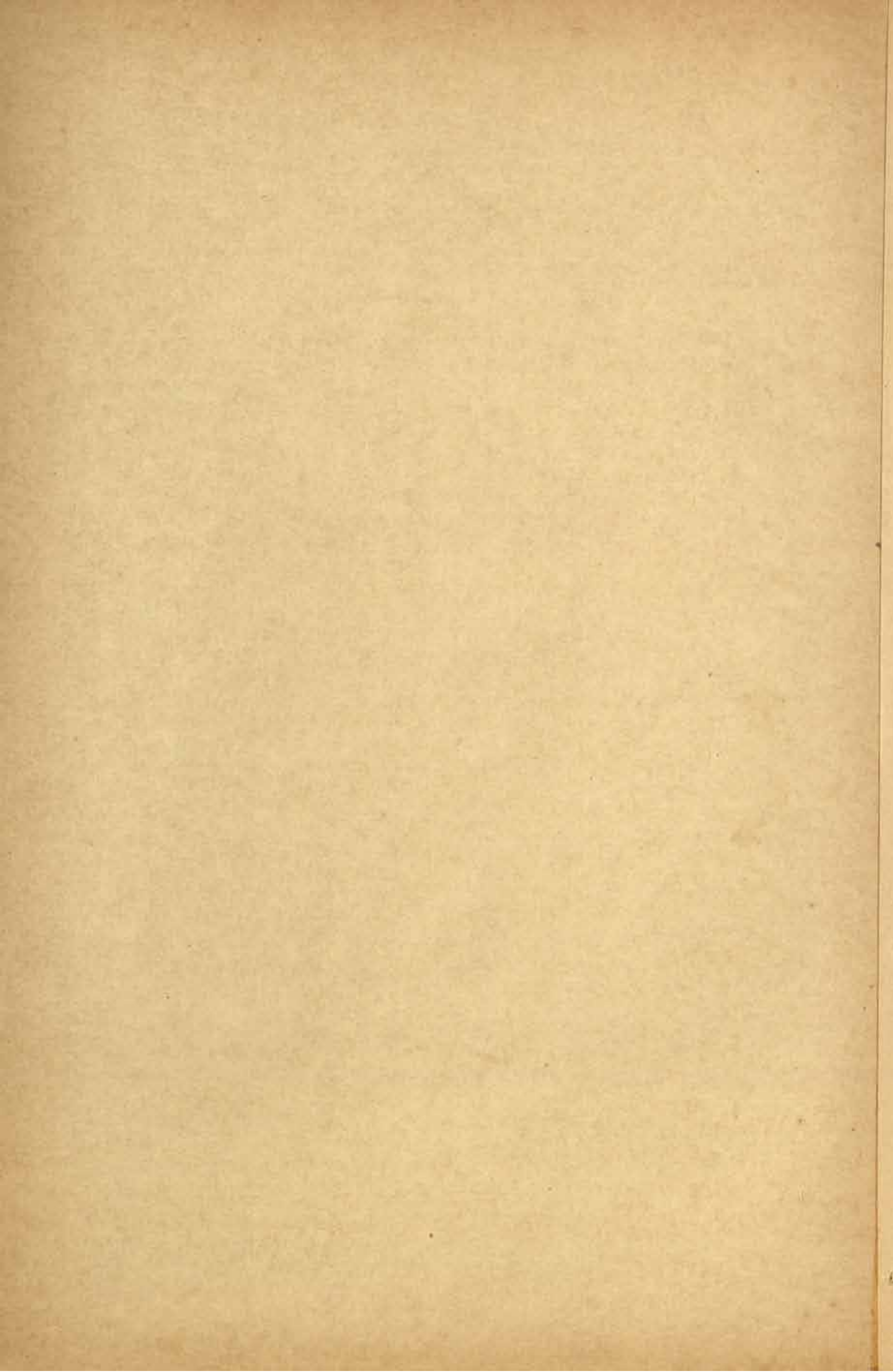
B.



A historical painting depicting a military band marching in a parade ground. The band members, dressed in uniforms with red jackets and tall hats, are carrying large brass instruments, likely tubas or euphoniums. They are marching in a long, single-file line. In the background, a line of soldiers in red uniforms stands at attention. The scene is set in an open field with buildings visible in the distance. The painting is mounted on a dark album page with a decorative border.



CONSECRATION OF COLOURS WHICH LADY JANE DUNDAS PRESENTED TO THE
THIRD REGIMENT OF ROYAL EAST INDIA VOLUNTEERS ON THE 29TH JUNE, 1799.



THE COMPANY'S ARMS IN POPLAR CHAPEL.

If the reader is at all acquainted with the East End of London, he will doubtless recall a large open space on the south side of the East India Dock Road, known as the Poplar Recreation Ground. It is a delightful example of a public garden and a great boon to a crowded and somewhat squalid neighbourhood. In the daytime the very old and the very young have it mostly to themselves; but in the evening the artisan and his wife—to say nothing of couples not yet linked in matrimony—come to enjoy its leafy walks and fresher air.

The public memory is short, and probably few among the frequenters of this *rus in urbe* know that it is part of the site of the famous "Poplar Hospital," otherwise "the Honourable East India Company's Almshouses at Poplar or Blackwall," founded in 1627-28 for "the releife of such as have or shall be maimed or decayed by the Companies service." These almshouses were maintained during the whole period of the Company's existence, and after its demise they were continued for a few years longer by the Secretary of State for India in Council; but in 1866 the occupants were pensioned off, the buildings pulled down, and the land sold to the Poplar District Board of Works. Thus this magnificent and much-appreciated charity came to an end.

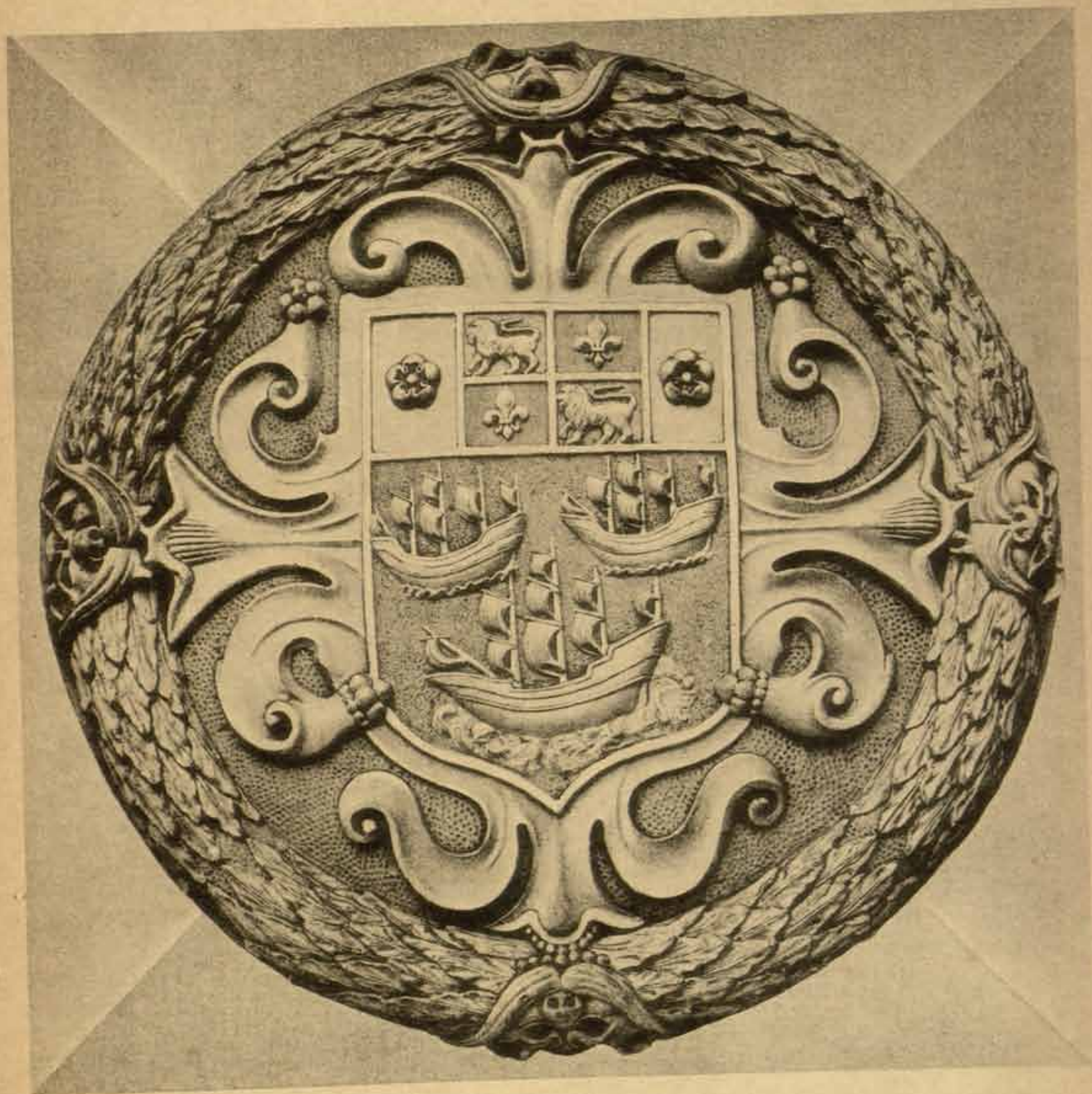
It is not, however, with "Poplar Hospital" that we are here concerned, but with the chapel which stood—and happily still stands—on an adjoining piece of ground. This building was completed in 1654 and was intended to serve as a place of worship both for the inmates of the Hospital and the people of the neighbourhood. Towards the cost of its erection the Company contributed largely; and in addition they at a later date undertook to provide the salary of the minister—who was also chaplain of their Hospital—and to find him a house. Matters remained on this footing until the demolition of the almshouses in 1866. The chapel was then transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who made it the centre of a new parish, named after St. Matthias. With the change of owners came a demand for renovation. The exterior of the building was cased in stone and the interior modernised; while a further change was made about nine years later by the addition of a chancel.

These alterations, while they have rendered the outside of the building almost unrecognisable by those who knew it fifty years ago, have fortunately wrought little harm to the interior. The visitor may still admire the massy columns of teak, which are fabled locally to have been originally masts belonging to some vessels of the Spanish Armada. He may still study with interest the monuments that adorn the walls—a bas-relief by Flaxman to the memory of George Steevens, the Shakespearean commentator: the inscription to the memory of Susannah, wife of John Hoole (Auditor to the Company and the translator of Tasso and Ariosto) and mother of the Rev. Samuel Hoole, chaplain here at the beginning of the nineteenth century: an imposing monument to Philip Worth, a captain in the Company's service (died in 1743): and

the tablet recalling the virtues of Robert Ainsworth, whose Latin Dictionary has been familiar to several generations of schoolboys. But what should on no account be missed is the carved boss in the centre of the ceiling of the nave. This beautiful piece of seventeenth century work represents the coat of arms of the First East India Company, and was probably placed in position at the time when the Chapel was built. From the admirable photograph secured by Mr. Griggs, and here reproduced, it will be seen that by a curious blunder the carver has reversed the positions of the lions and the fleurs-de-lys in the point of the chief. The same mistake occurs on a stone fragment bearing the Company's arms which now stands in the Poplar Free Library. Nothing is known regarding its history; but probably it came from the outside of the Chapel.

A plaster cast of the moulding here represented, painted in the proper colours, now decorates a recess in the main corridor on the first floor of the India Office. It was made for the Earl's Court Exhibition of 1895, and afterwards passed into the possession of Sir George Birdwood, who made it over to the Office upon his retirement in 1902.

F.



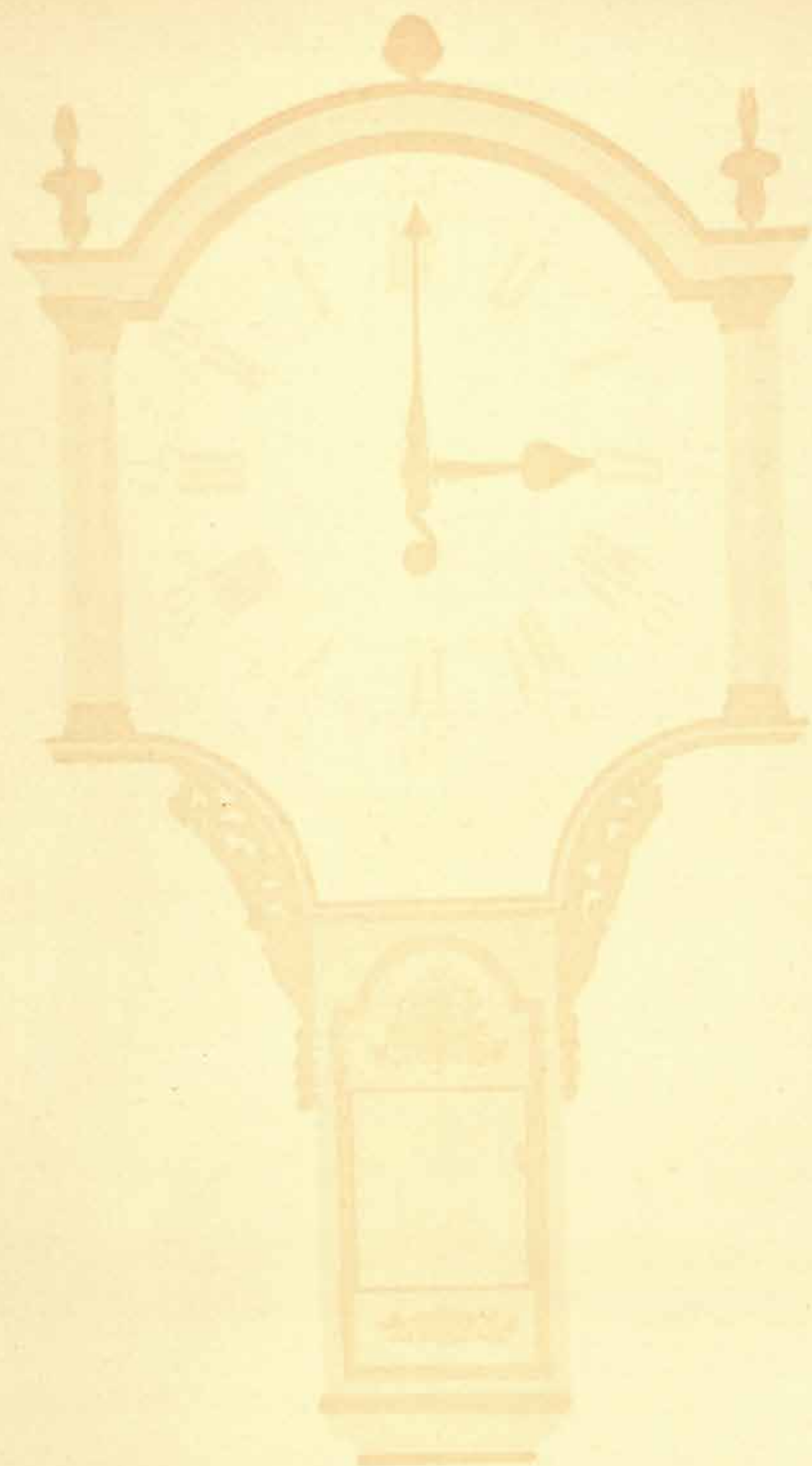
E.I.C. ARMS ON CEILING OF POPLAR CHURCH.

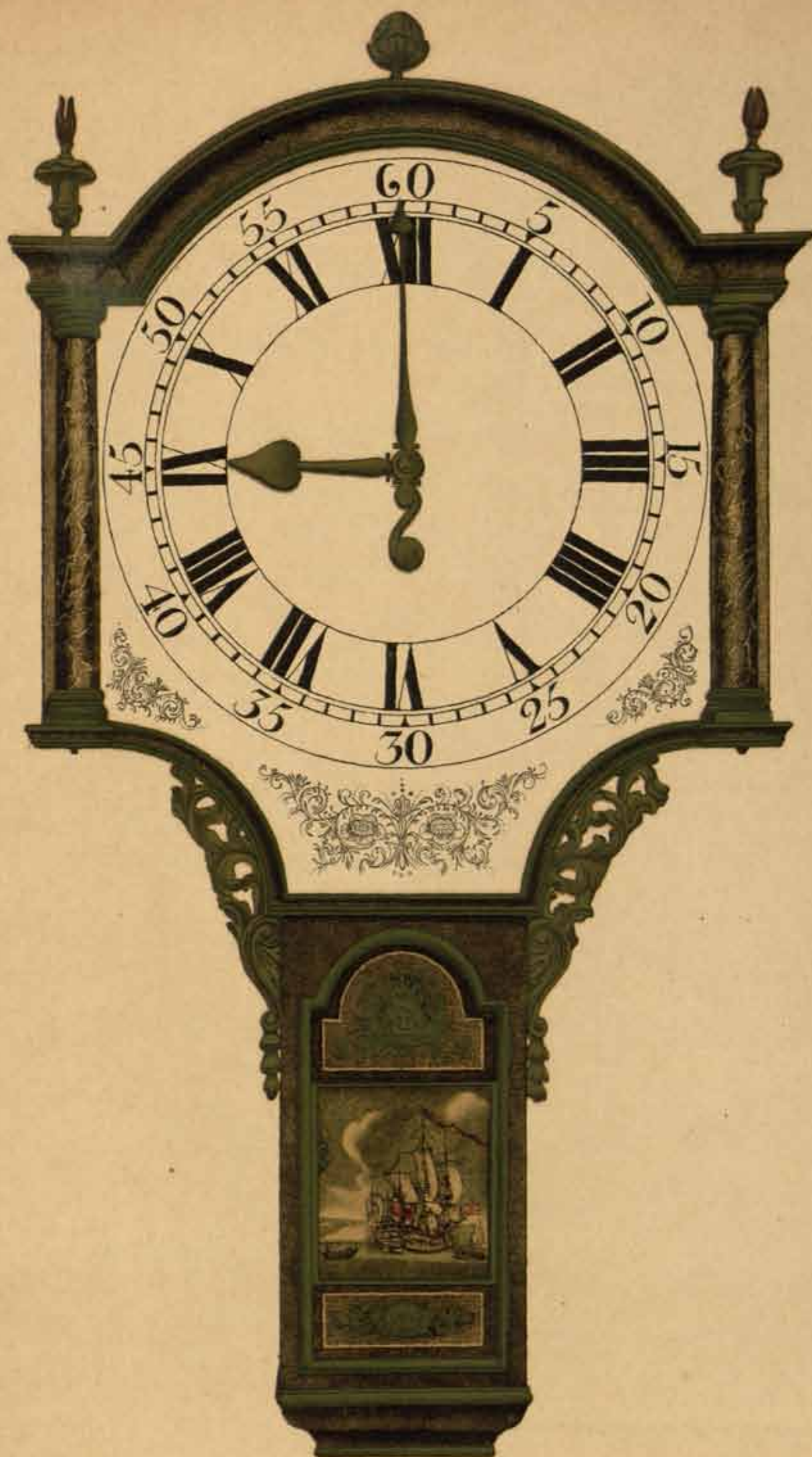
AN OLD CLOCK.

This quaint piece of furniture was formerly in the Marine Department of the East India House. It took part in the migration westward, and is still to be found on duty in the Treasury of the India Office. For many years it hung just outside the rooms occupied by the Special Assistant, and everyone who has visited Sir George Birdwood in his official quarters will recollect this interesting souvenir of the past.

At the time when the clock was first reproduced (in the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1899), it was supposed to belong to the seventeenth century, and to be the one referred to in the Court Minutes of October 26, 1674, when it was "ordered that the Secretary doe buy a clock for the Companies use (to be set in the room where the Court of Committees meet) upon the best terms procurable." True, Mr. F. J. Britten, who was consulted by Sir George Birdwood, pronounced the works to belong to a much later period; while the ship depicted on the case seemed also to be an eighteenth century production. To these objections it was answered that probably the works had been renewed and the case redecorated. Since that time, however, a further entry has been discovered in the Court Minutes which seems to show that the doubters were right. In August, 1714, directions were given that a new clock should be "provided and placed in the Court Room, and . . . made to go a month, and the Chairman or Deputy to have the keeping of the key." The old one, we learn, was bestowed upon "Oliver Hawkins, one of the doorkeepers." It should be mentioned that Mr. Britten would not accept even 1714 as a probable date for the interior fittings; and so the supposition that these were renewed towards the end of that century still holds good.

F.





AN OLD CLOCK FORMERLY BELONGING TO THE COMPANY.

THE SALE ROOM.

This is a reproduction of a coloured engraving given in the second volume of *The Microcosm of London*, published by Rudolph Ackermann in 1808. The original drawing was the work of two celebrated artists, Pugin supplying the architectural features and Rowlandson contributing the human element.

The letterpress accompanying the picture is concerned only with the history of the Company, and does not deign to describe the scene before us. For this we must go to other sources. Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum* (1807) tells us that the Sale Room was on the north side of the Directors' Court Room [the reader will see the door of communication on the extreme left of the plate]: that it had a skylight over the Chairman's seat and a number of windows on the northern side: that on the floor was an amphitheatre for bidders: and that the western end was semicircular and adorned with statues. These are well shown in the picture and can be recognised, although faulty in details. Commencing from the spectator's left, they are Lord Cornwallis (erected 1798): Lord Clive, Sir George Pocock, and Stringer Lawrence (all erected in 1764): and finally Sir Eyre Coote (placed over the north door about 1788).

The sketch depicts a sale in progress. The amphitheatre is filled with bidders and spectators. Across the room runs a wooden partition, on the other side of which sit the officials. There is the presiding Director, seated in state under the clock with his hat on; at a respectful distance are two officials in little wooden pulpits noting the bids; while underneath some seven or eight clerks are entering up bargains or writing out forms. It is interesting to recall that possibly Charles Lamb—certainly some of his friends—took a turn occasionally at the latter duty.

For a vivid description of the scene at one of the Company's periodical sales we may have recourse to Charles Knight's *London* (vol. v. p. 59), premising that his work was published in 1843 and he is speaking therefore of rather a later date than that of our picture. "Those of tea," he says, "were the most extensive, and they are yet remembered with a sort of dread by all who had anything to do with them. They were held only four times a year—in March, June, September, and December; and the quantity disposed of at each sale was in consequence very large, amounting on many recent occasions to 8½ millions of pounds, and sometimes much higher: they lasted several days, and it is within our recollection that 1,200,000 lbs. have been sold in one day. The only buyers were the tea-brokers, composed of about thirty firms: each broker was attended by the tea-dealers who engaged his services, and who communicated their wishes by nods and winks. In order to facilitate the sale of such large quantities, it was the practice to put up all the teas of one quality before proceeding to those of another; and to permit each bidder to proceed without much interruption so long as he confined his biddings to the variation of a farthing for what was technically called the upper and under lot; but as soon as he began to waver, or that it appeared

safe to advance another farthing, the uproar became quite frightful to one unaccustomed to it. It often amounted to a howling and yelling which might have put to shame an O.P. row, and, although thick walls intervened, it frequently was heard by the frequenters of Leadenhall Market. All this uproar, which would induce a stranger to anticipate a dreadful onslaught, was usually quelled by the finger of the chairman pointing to the next buyer, whose biddings would be allowed to go on with comparative quietness, but was [*sic*] sure to be succeeded by a repetition of the same noise as at first. At the indigo sales much the same sort of scene took place."

As explained in the next article, the meetings of the Court of Proprietors were always held in the Sale Room, which in consequence was also known as the General Court Room.

F.



THE SALE ROOM.

A MEETING OF THE COURT OF PROPRIETORS.

"The Court of Proprietors, or General Court, as its name imports, is composed of the owners of India Stock. . . . By the law now [1843] in force, which was made in 1773, the possession of 1,000*l.* gives one vote, although persons having only 500*l.* may be present at the Court; 3,000*l.* entitles the owner to two votes, 6,000*l.* to three, and 10,000*l.* to four votes. All persons whatever may be members of this Court, male or female, Englishman or foreigner, Christian or unbeliever. The Court of Proprietors elects the Court of Directors, frames bye-laws, declares the dividend, controls grants of money exceeding 600*l.*, and additions to salaries above 200*l.* It would appear that the executive power of this Court, having been delegated to the Court of Directors, may be considered as extinct; at all events, it never now interferes with acts of government, although instances have formerly occurred where acts of the Court of Directors have been revised by it. Its functions in fact are deliberative: they are like those of influential public meetings in the English constitution, and its resolutions are supposed to be respectfully attended to by the Directors, and even by the Legislature. It is always called together to discuss any proceedings in Parliament likely to affect the interests of the Company. It may, at any time, call for copies of public documents to be placed before the body for deliberation and discussion; and is empowered to confer a public mark of approbation, pecuniary or otherwise, on any individual whose services may appear to merit the distinction, subject, however, to the approbation of the Board of Control in cases where the sum shall exceed 600*l.*

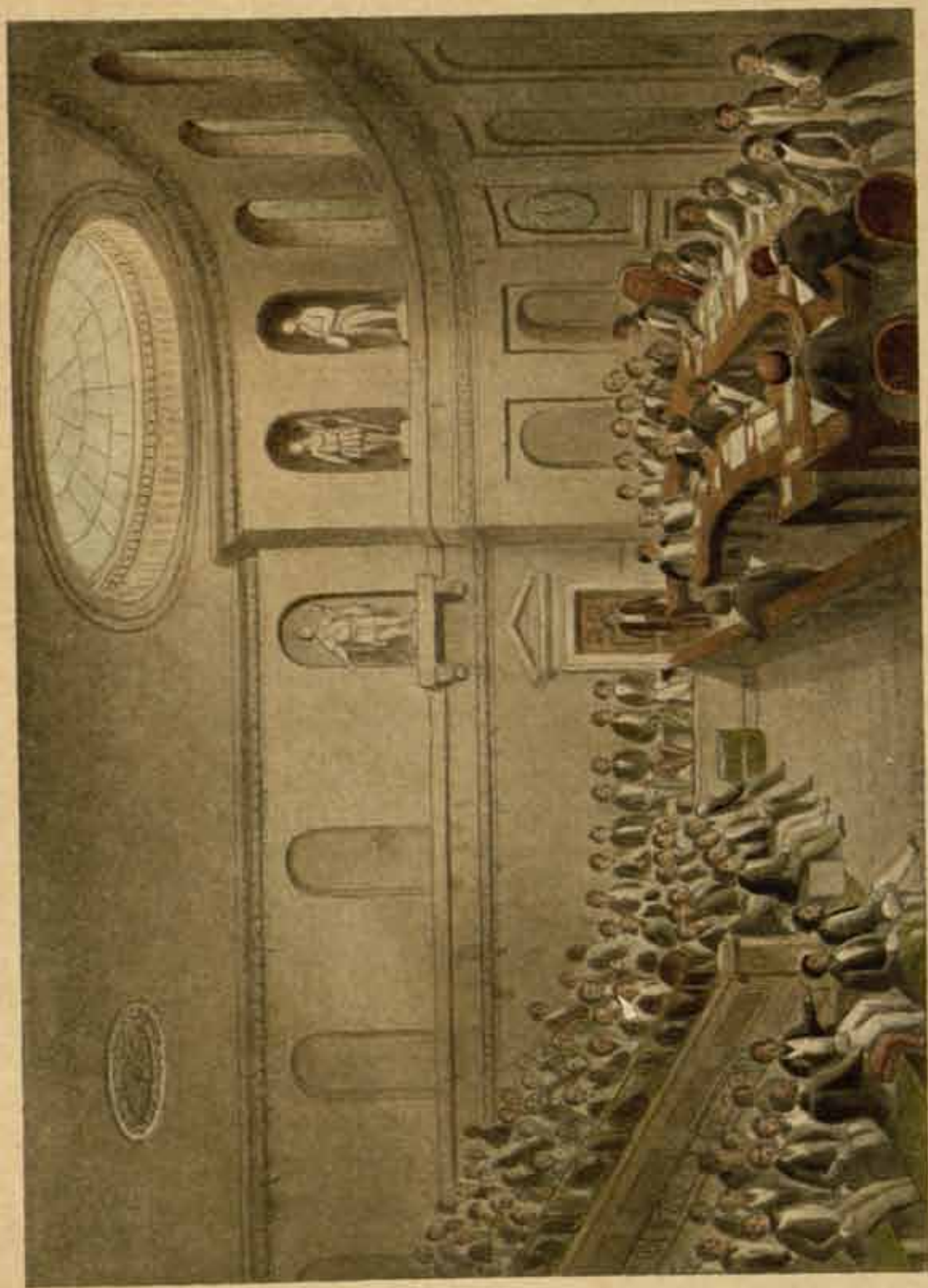
"The meetings of this Court have much the appearance of those of the House of Commons, and its discussions are conducted by nearly the same rules. The Chairman of the Court of Directors presides *ex officio*, and questions are put through him as through the Speaker. There is occasionally a display of eloquence which would not disgrace the Senate, though more frequently perhaps the matters debated are hardly of sufficient general interest to produce so much excitement. Amendments are proposed, adjournments are moved, the previous question is put, the Court rings with cries of 'Hear, hear,' 'Oh, oh!' etc., etc., and a tedious speaker is coughed down as effectually as he would be on the floor of the House of Commons. At the conclusion of a debate the question is often decided by a show of hands; but if any Proprietor doubts the result, he may call for a division, when tellers are appointed, and the Court divides accordingly. In especial cases any nine members may call for an appeal to the general body of Proprietors, to whom timely notice is sent, and the vote is by ballot. The meetings always take place at twelve o'clock, and generally close at dusk: in cases of great interest they are much later, and in a recent instance the debate continued until two o'clock in the following morning. The number of members of the Court of Proprietors in 1843 is 1,880, of whom 333 have two votes, 64 three, and 44 four votes. In 1825 there were 2,003 Proprietors."

The above quotation from Knight's *London* (vol. v. p. 56) aptly introduces our

next plate; and we may suitably proceed to borrow from the same writer an account of the room in which the meetings were held. "The General Court Room, which until the abolition of the trade was the Old Sale Room, is close to the Court Room. Its east side is occupied by rows of seats which rise from the floor near the middle of the room towards the ceiling, backed by a gallery where the public are admitted. On the floor are the seats for the Chairman, [Directors], Secretary, and clerks. Against the west wall, in niches, are six statues of persons who have distinguished themselves in the Company's service: Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Marquis Cornwallis occupy those on the left, and Sir Eyre Coote, General Lawrence, and Sir George Pocock those on the right. It is understood that the statue of the Marquis Wellesley will be placed in the vacant space in the middle." This was written in 1843. The statue of Lord Wellesley was put into position in 1845, and was followed, ten years later, by one of his still more distinguished brother, the Duke of Wellington.

Our picture is from a water-colour drawing by Thomas H. Shepherd, now in the Council Room at the India Office. It is undated, but may be assigned to about the year 1820, since it shows no sign of the statue to Warren Hastings, which was erected in 1823. A comparison with Pugin's drawing shows that between the dates of the two sketches the western end of the room had been remodelled, the three niches for statuary having been increased to five; and this is borne out by the plans given in the earlier part of the present volume. It is evident, however, that Shepherd has made a slight slip in turning three of these niches into windows; and indeed his drawing of that end of the room leaves much to be desired.

F.



A MEETING OF THE COURT OF PROPRIETORS.

THE DIRECTORS' COURT ROOM.

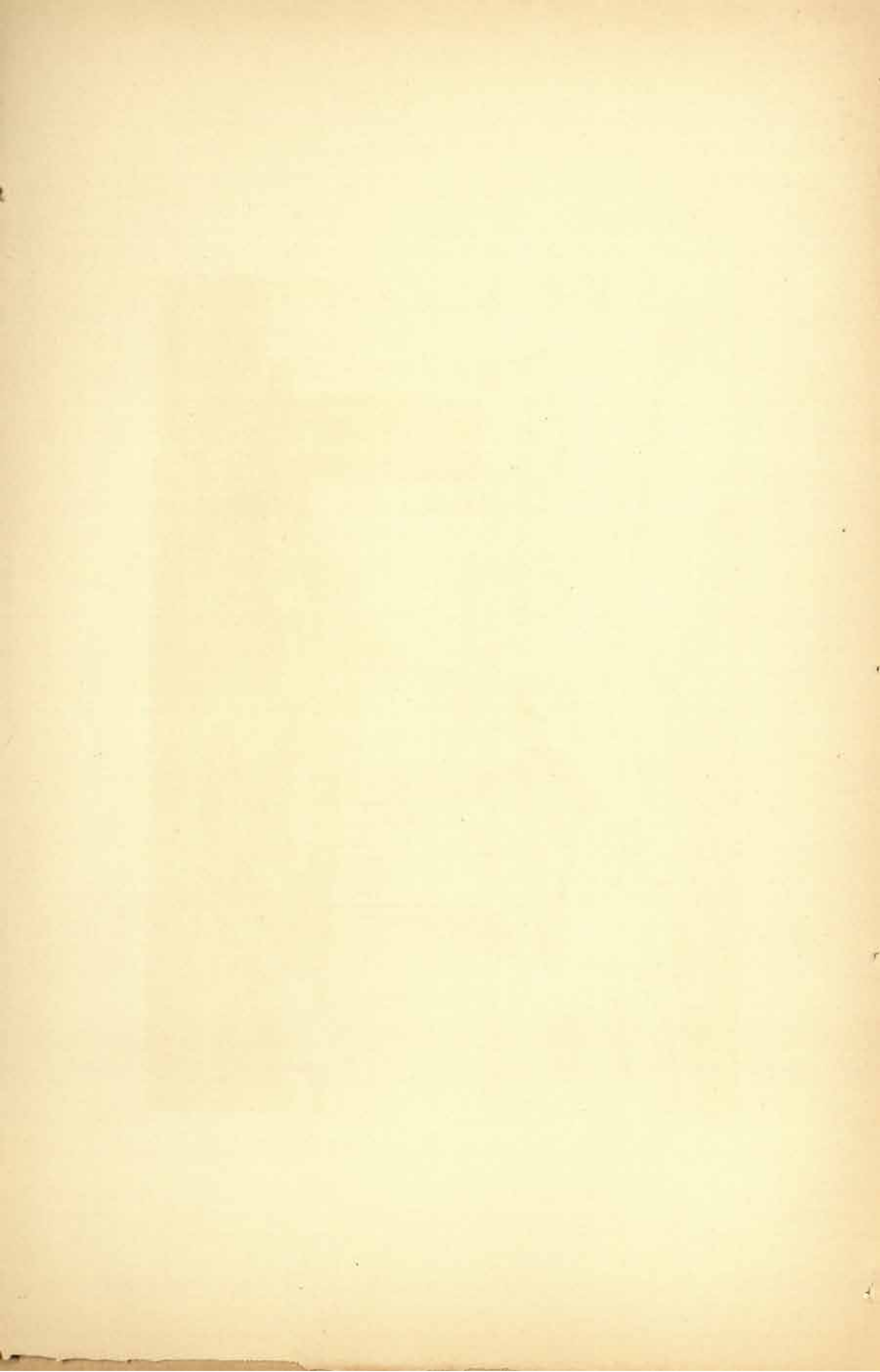
This water-colour drawing by T. H. Shepherd, like the companion picture just described, hangs now in the Council Room of the India Office, having been presented by Sir George Birdwood in 1899. It is probably the only representation extant of the Directors' meeting-place at the East India House.

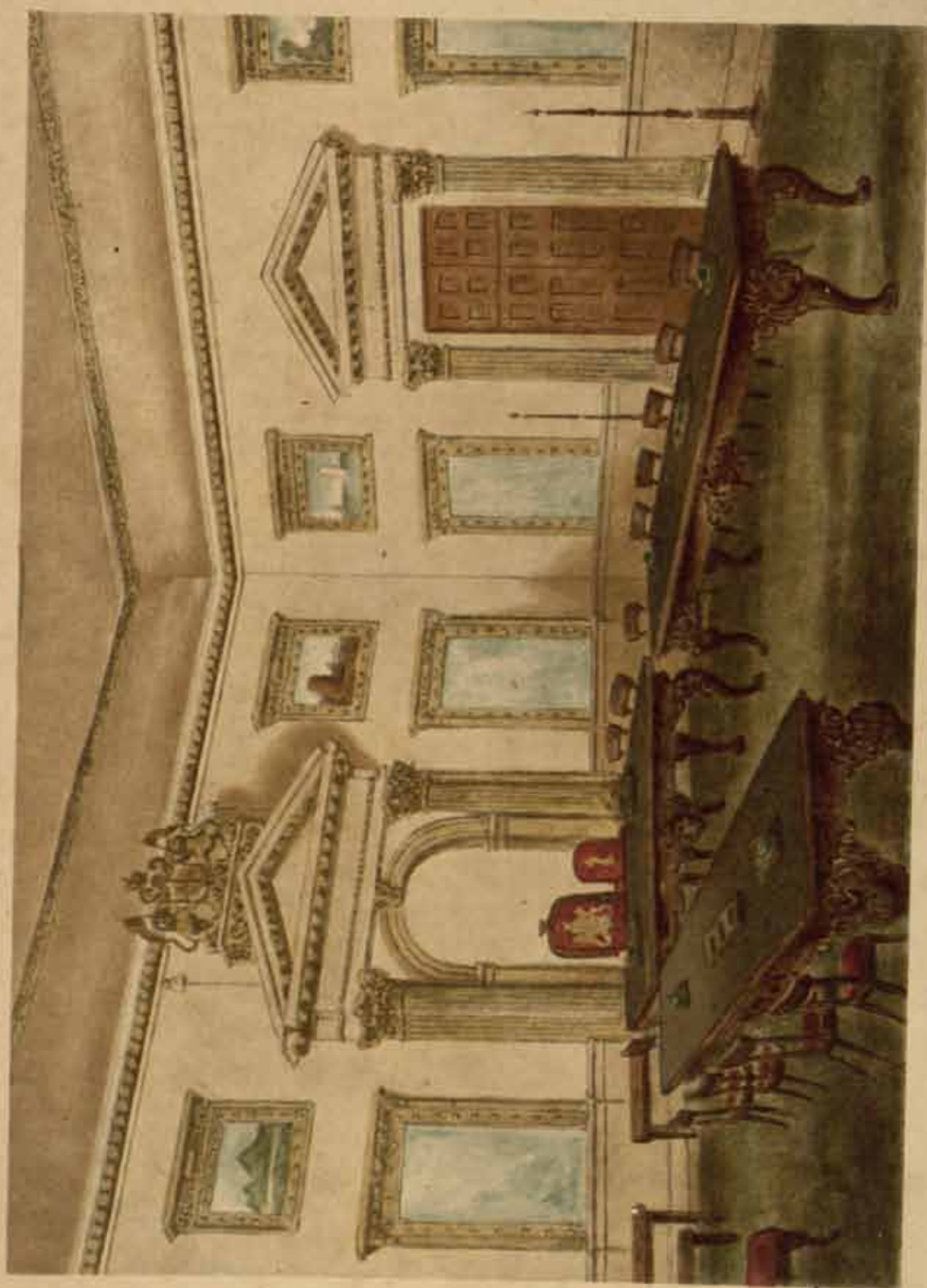
For a description of it we may again borrow from Knight's *London* (1843). "The Court Room is said to be an exact cube of thirty feet; it is splendidly ornamented by gilding and by large looking-glasses; and the effect of its too great height is much diminished by the position of the windows near the ceiling. Six large pictures hang from the cornice, representing the three Presidencies, the Cape, St. Helena, and Telli-cherry. A fine piece of sculpture, in white marble, is fixed over the chimney."

The present sketch does not show us either the windows or the chimney-sculpture (which is of course the fine piece of work by Rysbrack already described); but we see the gilding and the looking-glasses and four out of the six pictures. These paintings are now in the Military Committee Room at the India Office, and are of great interest as representations of the Company's settlements in the early part of the eighteenth century. They were purchased in 1732, and were the work of George Lambert (first president of the Society of Arts, founder of the Beefsteak Club, and for many years principal scene-painter at Covent Garden Theatre) and Samuel Scott (a friend of Hogarth and a marine painter of some eminence). Though in many respects inaccurate, for neither painter had been in India, their acceptance by the Company seems to have lent them an air of authority, and most eighteenth-century views of Calcutta, &c., were based upon them.

Anyone who has visited the Council Room at the India Office will at once recognise many of its features in the present drawing. The very handsome entrance-door is the same in both cases. The tables are identical, and are arranged in the same position; while the Secretary of State's chair—whilom the Chairman's seat—stands still in the old place. The coat-of-arms on the wall behind that seat is gone, but it is preserved in another part of the India Office, having been presented to the Secretary of State in 1891, as already related on p. 27.

F.





THE DIRECTORS' COURT ROOM.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SEAT.

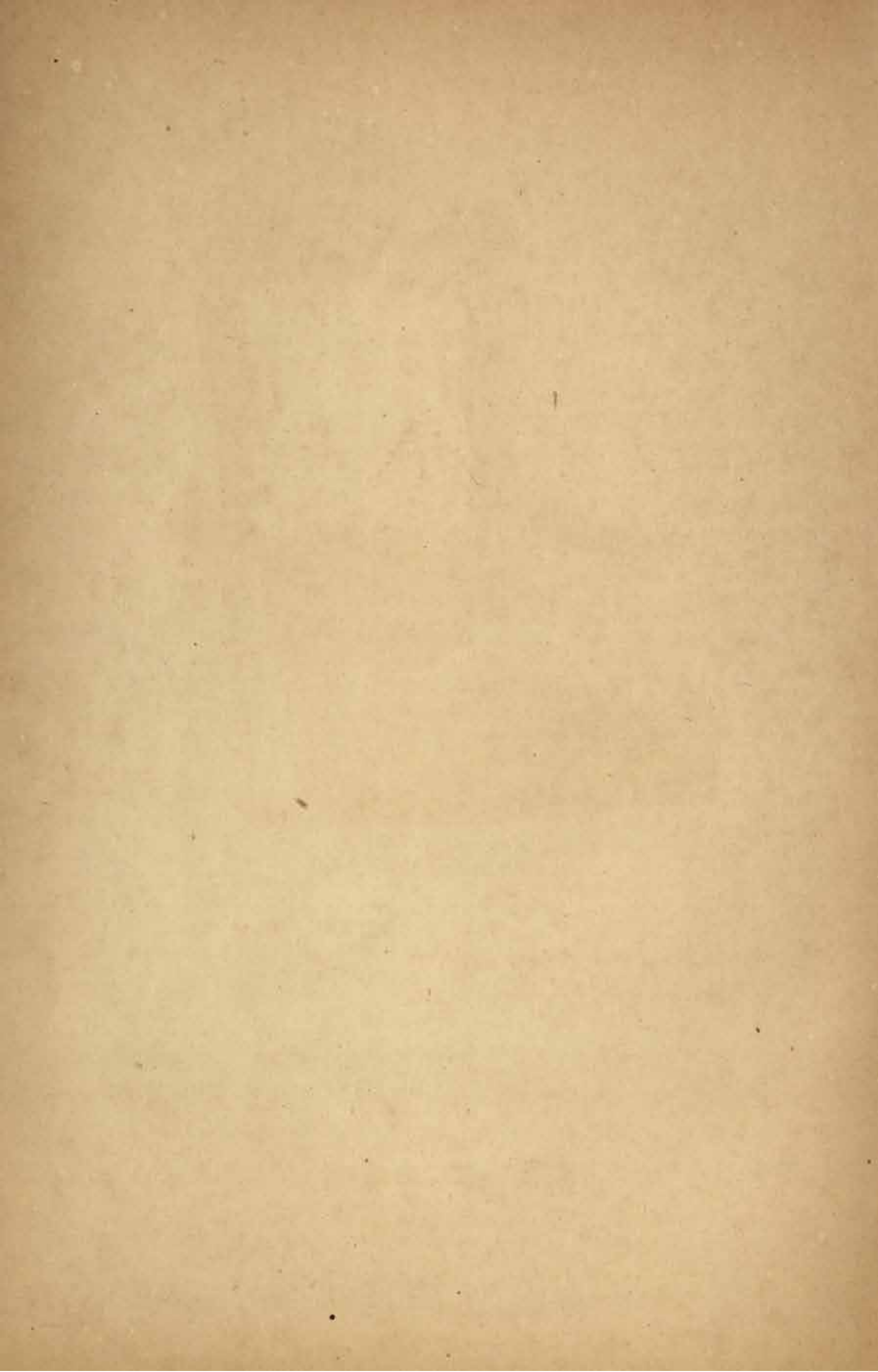
"Arm-chair. Walnut. . . . It has a high back, carved with the head of Neptune at the top, and a border of leaf ornament enclosing a panel of red velvet, on which are embroidered, in coloured silks and silver thread, the arms of the Honourable East India Company; the arms, the frame of the chair, and the four cabriole legs, are carved with leaf ornament, and the front legs terminate in dolphins' heads. The seat is stuffed and covered in red morocco. Middle of the eighteenth century." So runs an expert's description, extracted from the official catalogue of the Furniture Exhibition held in 1896 at the Bethnal Green Museum, when this and several other fine pieces of furniture were lent by the India Office. And perhaps we may add that, in the opinion of another expert, it is not improbable that the designer and maker was either Chippendale himself or one of his pupils.

But beautiful as the chair is in form and decorative detail, a still greater interest attaches to its historical associations. No actual record of its acquisition has been discovered; but probably we shall not be far wrong in concluding that it was bought by the East India Company about 1730, when they were furnishing the new building which had been erected for them on the site of their former dwelling. Certainly from about the middle of that century down to the dissolution of the Company, it was the seat of the Chairman when presiding over the Court of Directors. To mention only a few names, this means that it was occupied at different times by Sir William James, Laurence Sullivan, Sir Stephen Lushington, Sir Francis Baring, David Scott, Sir Hugh Inglis, Charles Grant, William Astell, Henry St. George Tucker, Sir James Rivett-Carnac, Sir Richard Jenkins, John Shepherd, and Sir James Hogg. When the new India Office was constituted, the chair, while still displaying the insignia of the old Company, became the seat of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and this function it still discharges. Among its distinguished occupants since 1858 have been Lord Stanley, Sir Charles Wood, Lord Ripon, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Kimberley, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Cross, Sir Henry Fowler, Lord George Hamilton, and the present holder of the post, Lord Morley of Blackburn.

F.



THE CHAIRMAN'S SEAT.



TWO MEMENTOES OF LAMB.

To many persons the most interesting fact about the East India House is that it was for thirty-three years (1792-1825) the scene of the daily labours of Charles Lamb; and this provides a justification—if one be needed—for including in the present series two relics (already mentioned in the introduction) of the much-loved author of *The Essays of Elia*.

The first of these is a full-length portrait of Lamb "scratched on copper from life in 1825 by his friend Brook Pulham." James Brook Pulham, who belonged, like Lamb, to the Accountant-General's department at the East India House, was fond of amusing himself with etching, and a specimen of his work (the "Dutch" view of the Company's building) is among the earlier plates of the present volume. Evidently he was not much of a hand at a likeness, though William Ayrton considered the etching a fair portrait of his friend. De Quincey, on the other hand, made the obvious remark that the nose was "much exaggerated in its curve"; while Procter, according to Leigh Hunt, "went into the shop in a passion and asked the man what he meant by putting forth such a libel." Lamb himself was quite good-natured over it. In June, 1826, he sent a copy to Coleridge, remarking that the portrait "was stolen from my person at one of my unguarded moments by some too partial artist, and my friends are pleased to think that he has not much flattered me"; and again, in the following year, he wrote to Barton: "'Tis a little sixpenny thing, too like by half, in which the draughtsman has done his best to avoid flattery. There have been two editions of it, which I think are all gone, as they have vanish'd from the window where they hung, a print shop, corner of Great and Little Queen Streets, Lincoln's Inn Fields."

An interesting feature of this portrait is that it undoubtedly represents Lamb's costume in the later years of his connexion with the India House. "Inveterately black" this was, according to John Forster, "with gaiters which seemed longing for something more substantial to close in." His slimness of legs and body is also suggested; but scarcely the "short stature" on which the same writer remarks.

The other relic here reproduced is a copy of Booth's *Tables of Interest*, which was constantly used by Lamb and on the fly-leaf of which, in some sportive moment, he has written the following mock reviews:—

"This is a Book of great interest, but does not much engage our sympathy.—Extract from the *Edinburgh Review* for October, November & December, 1818."

"This is a very interesting publication.—*Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1819."

"The interest of this book, unlike the generality which we are doomed to peruse, rises to the end.—*British Critic* for August, 1820."

The volume is now carefully preserved in the Accountant-General's Department at the India Office—a very fitting repository.

The same building has a few other relics of Lamb. Foremost amongst these must be placed the portrait of him by Henry Meyer, painted in 1826, and by many

considered to be on the whole the best likeness extant. The books at which Lamb laboured during his official hours are all gone—destroyed with most of the other commercial records of the Company. But the curious may still see the bonds signed at various times by him and his sureties—John Lamb the elder, Peter Pierson, "Jem" White, Martin Burney, Dr. Stoddart, and Lamb's brother John; and it is possible that the desk at which he worked is still in use, though no longer to be identified among other items of furniture transferred from Leadenhall Street.

F.



Sketched on Copper from Life in 1823 by his friend Brook Pugham.

Charles Lamb

TABLES
OF
SIMPLE INTEREST,

ON
A NEW PLAN OF ARRANGEMENT;

BY WHICH
THE INTEREST OF ANY NUMBER OF POUNDS, FROM ONE TO A THOUSAND,
FOR ANY NUMBER OF DAYS NOT EXCEEDING A YEAR,
WILL BE FOUND, AT ONE VIEW, WITHOUT THE TROUBLE OR RISK OF ADDITIONS,
AT ANY RATE PER CENT.

WITH
SUBSIDIARY TABLES,
TO EACH DAY, FOR ALL SUMS UNDER ONE POUND, OR ABOVE A THOUSAND;
And other useful Interest Calculations.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
TABLES OF COMMISSION OR EXCHANGE, ON A SIMILAR PLAN,
AT ALL THE USUAL RATES.

BY DAVID BOOTH.

London:

STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY JAMES FERGUSSON, NEWMAN STREET OXFORD STREET,

FOR
THE AUTHOR.

1818.

*This is a Book of great interest, but does not much
engage our sympathy*

*Extract from the Edinburgh Review
for October November & December 1818.*

This is a very interesting publication.

Gentleman's Magazine for July 1819. —

*The interest of this book, unlike the generality which we are
doomed to peruse rises to the end.*

British Critic for August 1820.

THE SADDLERS' BALLOT BOX.

The quaint ballot box here figured is the property of the Worshipful Company of Saddlers of London. Besides the historical associations to be mentioned presently, it belongs (as shown by the date) to the earliest period of the use of the ballot in England; and it is moreover of special interest as a specimen of Jacobean workmanship and decoration.

The box is about eighteen inches high, and stands on a base measuring eighteen by thirteen inches. The form is peculiar, the lower portion having the appearance of an oblong box, containing three drawers of equal size, while the upper compartment is T-shaped, and is furnished with a projecting mouthpiece. The lid is surmounted by three shallow pyramids, with square bases, curved sides, and blunted apexes. The exterior of the box and the inner surface of the lid are elaborately decorated with flowers and filigree work in gold and silver, some of the painting looking like an imitation of Chinese or Japanese work. On each side of the mouthpiece is depicted a coat of arms, set in a square compartment containing also leaf and scroll work. That on the spectator's left, surmounted by a royal crown, will be easily recognised as the armorial bearings of King James I., whose initials appear above. The other was for a long time a mystery, until one day the box was shown to Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, who at once identified the contents of the escutcheon as the arms of the first East India Company. It is true that the artist has substituted a rose for the royal lions and fleurs-de-lys which should appear in the point of the chief, but this is a mistake that might readily be made in working from memory.

On raising the lid we notice that this bears on its inner side the date 1619. The upper portion of the interior has in front a long compartment, at the bottom of which on the right and left are two shallow depressions with holes in the centre of each, through which the ballot balls drop into the drawer beneath. Behind this long compartment is a small one, directly opposite to the central aperture. This compartment is ordinarily shut off by an ornamented panel (which can, however, be lifted out); and it has a similar bowl-shaped base, with a hole communicating with the centre drawer. The method of balloting was very simple. Each person was furnished with a small ball or pellet, and then introduced his hand into the box through the mouth, the projection of which effectually concealed any movement of his wrist. If the voting was to be merely "Aye" or "Nay," or if a choice had to be made between two names (no neutrality being allowed), the partition would remain in position and the voter would throw his ball to the right or to the left as he pleased; but if a third alternative was desired, the panel would be removed for this purpose. When everyone had voted, the drawers were pulled out, the balls counted, and the result declared.

Even if this were all we had to say about the box, we might still claim for it considerable importance as being probably the oldest English ballot box in existence; but in addition to this, the date and the arms of the East India Company enable us to

connect it with an interesting episode in the early history of that body, namely, the attempt made in the summer of 1619 to introduce the use of the ballot in the election of the Governor. The principal object in this manœuvre was to secure the ejection from the chair of Sir Thomas Smythe, to whom some of the adventurers imputed (with little justice) the want of success which had of late attended its operations. Smythe had been named in the Charter as the first Governor, and with a few slight breaks, due to exceptional causes, had remained so ever since. The meetings of the Committees (to use the old term for "Directors") were held in his house in Philpot Lane, and much of the clerical work of the Company was entrusted to his servants. To the services he had rendered them during the earlier years of the existence of the association, the members had often borne ungrudging testimony; but he was now growing an old man, while at the same time increasing years had but added to the official burdens laid upon his shoulders. As his epitaph proudly recites, he was, at one time or another, "Governour of the East India, Moscovia, French and Sommer Iland Companies: Treasurer for the Virginian Plantation: Prime Undertaker (in the year 1612) for that noble Designe the Discoverie of the North-West Passage: Principal Commissioner for the London expedition against the Pirates, and for a Voiage to the Ryver Senega upon the Coast of Africa: One of the cheefe Commissioners for the Navie Roial." With so many offices to discharge, we need not wonder that the "generality" of the East India Company began to whisper that their Governor had too many irons in the fire and could attend to none of them properly: that it was time that he and some of his associates made way for younger men whose freer energies might perhaps restore the drooping fortunes of the Company. It is not without significance that a similar feeling was being manifested in the Virginia Company, of which Smythe was Treasurer. "It had become the fashion in Virginia," writes Dr. Gardiner (*History of England*, vol. iii. p. 161), "to look upon him as the source of all the evils that had befallen the colony, and though there was probably some exaggeration in this, the charges brought against him were not without foundation. His temper was easy, and he was lax in his attention to the duties of his office." After a struggle the reform party in that body prevailed, and at the election of April, 1619, Smythe, much to his disgust, was passed over in favour of Sir Edwin Sandys; whereupon ensued a long wrangle between the two sections, in which the King's influence was exerted, though without avail, on the side of Smythe and his friends.

This, then, was the position of affairs when the election of 1619 drew near. The malcontents of the East India Company seem to have ranged themselves in two groups, viz. a body of gentlemen who had become members partly by Court influence and who thought that the management was too much in the hands of mere merchants; and a number of City men who resented their exclusion from the Committees and desired to play a part in the affairs of the Company. It was among the latter, apparently, that the idea of introducing the ballot in place of the usual voting by "erection of hands" was first started. In those days, it goes without saying, the merchants of London were much more closely related one to another than they now are; animosities were easily kindled, and it required no small courage to hold up your hand against the alderman of your ward, the master of your livery company, or the near relative of your best customer. The adoption of some form of secret voting, such as everyone had heard of as actually in use at Venice, offered a ready means of making your opinions effective without the risk of being penalised. An attempt seems to have been

made at the election of 1618 to introduce the new system, but without success. The innovators, however, had not lost heart, and were determined to make a fresh effort at the coming meeting.

It may easily be imagined how unpalatable the prospect of such a change was to the party in power. At a meeting of the Committees held on June 25, 1619, just a week before the date of the election, they were warned that "it wilbe prest to have a balletting box, some buisye spirits having had their privye meeteing about some things distasted by them, and combyning to make an innovation and alteracion in the goverment of the Companie, to the endaungering of the subversion thereof"; and it was resolved to make every effort to defeat the scheme, to the extent, if necessary, of appealing to the Court. King James might always be counted upon to disapprove of anything like a demonstration against established authority; moreover, he was very friendly disposed towards Sir Thomas Smythe; while as for the ballot, he roundly declared that "hee wold have no Italian tricks brought into his kingdome."

On the morning of July 2 the Committees again assembled at Sir Thomas Smythe's house to consider the "disturbances and innovations intended at the Court of Ellection." The most formidable of their opponents, they considered, were the group of gentlemen already mentioned, who, having been "taken into the Company by courtesie, do ayme to get all the goverment into their hands," whereas it was "a buysines proper onlie for merchants, and gentlemen unexperienct to manage buysines of that nature." Their City malcontents they doubtless expected to be able to overawe or vote down, but those of higher station were not easily to be silenced. As the most effectual mode of dealing with them, it was decided to induce "some person of countenance" to undertake the defence and persuade the assembly to re-elect the present holders of office; and for this duty they pitched upon Lord Digby, better known perhaps by his later title of Earl of Bristol. Smythe no doubt posted at once to Court, where, it would seem, he not only secured Digby's assistance but the promise of help from a still more influential quarter.

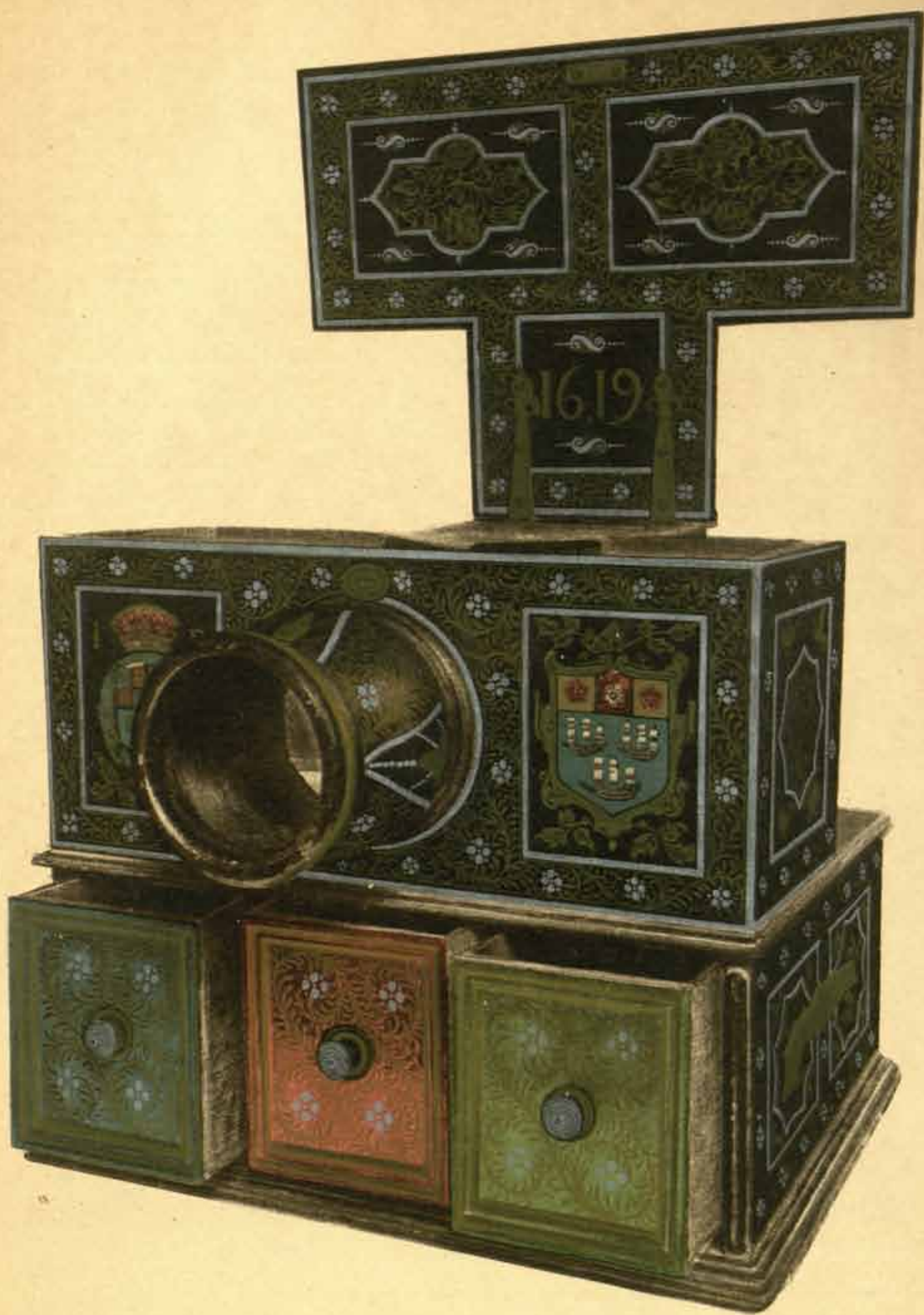
The General Court of Election was held on the afternoon of the same day. Smythe opened the proceedings in a speech of studied moderation. He had heard, he said that "many of the generalitie are discontented and desirous to have the buysines for the election to be caryed in another forme then formerly hath bene"; for himself, he had no wish to retain office, and in fact would be glad to be released; but he desired before retiring to be cleared of all imputations, and for that reason he was willing to propose a committee of investigation into any charges that might be brought against him. Then the winning card was played. Before any other name could be proposed for the post of Governor, Lord Digby rose and said that he had a message to deliver from the King. This was to the effect that His Majesty much approved the way in which the Company's business had been conducted by its present representatives; "and many of them having had often and free accesse unto him, he knowes the factes of some of them well, Sir Thomas Smith and some others, *and will not have any alteration of them.*" This strong intimation of the King's wishes seemed to render all opposition hopeless; but, nothing daunted, one of the reformers moved that the voting should be by ballot. "Before any question was propounded, Mr. John Holloway presented a balleting box to make the election by, a thing promisd by him in the last yeare (as he said), and now perfourmed. But the Lords and others present, houlding it a noveltie not formerly used nor knowne in theis elections, but a meanes

to disturbe the whole buysines did judge the aucthour thereof worthie of blame that did present it to interrupt the course intended by so gracious a message from His Majestie, and therefore caused it to be taken away; and concluded by erection of hands to have it put by for this yeare, and election to procede according to the ould manner without any alteration or innovation." The result was now a foregone conclusion. Although for form's sake three others were nominated with him, Smythe was re-elected Governor (according to the official report) "by a generall and free consent"; and it was not until two years later that, the tide of opposition running too strong for him, in spite of the royal support, he gave way and retired from his post.

That the "balletting box" thus unceremoniously hustled out of court was the one depicted in our illustration can scarcely be doubted. The extract from the official records given above shows that the offending "noveltye" had been purposely made for the occasion; and this explains both its date and its decoration with the East India Company's arms. But how and when it came into the hands of its present possessors remains an enigma. Mr. J. W. Sherwell, the Clerk of the Saddlers Company, has kindly searched the records of that body, but has not succeeded in tracing any particulars of the acquisition of the box. As regards the Mr. John Holloway by whom it was offered to the East India Company in the first instance, we know that he was a well-to-do wholesale grocer, and that in addition he held the appointment of Controller of Customs and Subsidies for the Port of London; but no connexion has been established between him and the Company of Saddlers. It is to be feared, therefore, that the intermediate history of this valuable relic must for ever remain a mystery.

Cordial thanks are due to the Master and Wardens of the Saddlers Company for their courtesy in permitting the box to be photographed; and also to their Clerk, Mr. Sherwell, for the valuable assistance he has afforded in the compilation of these notes.

F.



THE SADDLERS' BALLOT BOX.

THE GIRDLE'S CARPET.

The beautiful Persian carpet here depicted has had a curious history. Acquired in 1634, in circumstances presently to be narrated, it was for many years one of the most cherished possessions of the Worshipful Company of Girdlers of London. Oriental fabrics were much in demand in an age which delighted in brave colours, and carpets of this description were largely used by the wealthy for table-covers. Even a generation later, when the Hall was involved in "The Great Fire," this memento of a former Master was one of the first of the valuables that were hurried into safety. Gradually, however, as time stole on, the tradition of its value and its origin died into oblivion; and until about ten years ago the once-treasured carpet lay in the Company's Hall neglected, torn, and ink-stained. Then someone with deeper knowledge and insight than his fellows recognised its value and became curious to learn its history. The arms in the centre of the carpet were obviously those of the Girdlers Company; but whose were those on the right and left, and what was meant by the initials or trade marks on the queer white bundles depicted between? Interest being thus stirred, a committee was appointed, which included Sir Alfred Newton (then Lord Mayor and Master of the Company), to investigate the matter. The quick eyes of a lady (the wife of a Past Master, Mr. Bateman, C.M.G.) detected that the mysterious arms occurred also on the ceilings of Eagle House, Wimbledon, which was built about 1613 by a wealthy citizen of London, named Robert Bell. This name at once supplied the clue; the arms were ascertained to be indeed those of Bell and the initials on the bales readily resolved themselves into R.B. Search was then made in the records of the Company, with the result that it was found that in April, 1634, a vacancy occurring, owing to the death of the then occupant of the post, Bell was elected Master of the Girdlers; and that, in laying down his office on August 12 of the same year "Mr. Robert Bell did present a very faire long Turkey carpitt, with the Company's arms thereon, which he freely gave to the use of this Company as a remembrance of his love."

Ample atonement was now made for the neglect of past years. With the active co-operation of Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, C.I.E., the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, the carpet was carefully cleaned and repaired. It was then placed in a massive oak frame, specially carved by Miss B. Campbell, with a glass front to exclude the dust; and, thus renovated, it was hung in the Company's Hall at the back of the Master's chair. Its installation in this place of honour was celebrated on May 16, 1900, by a luncheon at which the Company entertained the then Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton) and a number of other distinguished guests. The toast of "The Memory of Robert Bell" was proposed by Sir George Birdwood, who, referring to the carpet, declared that it was "of the best period, both in the compactness, strength, and delicacy of its texture and in the purity and depth and warmth of its crimson and blue. If only the yellow and the green—as of

tender elm-leaves quivering in the sunshine of May—that once played over its surface, had not faded, it might well have been a wonderment of rich and harmonious chromatic splendour. But its authentic history is what constitutes its highest interest and value, and, enshrined where it now is, you may rest assured that it will henceforth be the cynosure of the students of sumptuary tapestry throughout Europe and the United States of America, and an abiding honour to the Worshipful Company of Girdlers."

To return to Robert Bell, the donor of the carpet. Research soon showed that he was a prominent member of the East India Company from its commencement in 1600, and this suggested that the records of that body might throw light upon the circumstances in which he acquired the carpet. The surmise proved correct. It was found that in a letter dated January 25, 1633, President Hopkinson and his Council wrote from Surat that they had sent home four carpets for Sir John Wolstenholme, and one for Mr. Bell. Next comes a particularly interesting entry in the Court Minutes of the Company, under the date of April 2, 1634, which we must quote in full:—

"Mr. Bell having given order to Mr. Rastall in his lifytyme for the making of a Lahoare carpett, containing seven yards longe and three and a half yards broad,¹ with his owne and [the] Girdlers armes thereon, for which Mr. Bell (as hee alledged) had given Mr. Rastall satisfaccion: and the said carpett beeing since the death of Mr. Rastall sent home, Mr. Bell was nowe sutour to the Court to have the same delivered unto him, hee intending it as a guift upon the Company of Girdlers, whereof hee is free: the Court, taking his request into consideracion, and although they are of opinion that the said carpett was bought with their monies, or at least charged upon their accompts, in which respect it was thought fitt that they should bee satisfyed for the same before they part with it out of their custody, yet in favour to Mr. Bell they were pleased to order the delivery thereof unto him, upon his promise made to the Court that, if it shall hereafter appeare that the Company have paid for the said carpett out of their estate, to repay the same againe unto them, with all such damages as they shall sustayne thereby."

The "Mr. Rastall" here mentioned was Thomas Rastell, who went out to Surat as President (for the second time) in the spring of 1630 and died there in the November of the following year. Probably the commission for the making of the carpet was given to him prior to his departure, together with drawings of the devices desired. Bell was one of the twenty-four "Committees" of the Company at that time. This was not the only occasion when that shrewd old merchant made use of his position to import goods from India on his own account, for in a letter to the Governor of the Company, dated December 26, 1614, William Edwards wrote that he had made bold to send home a truss of quilts and carpets which Mr. Robert Bell had ordained him to buy for his private account.

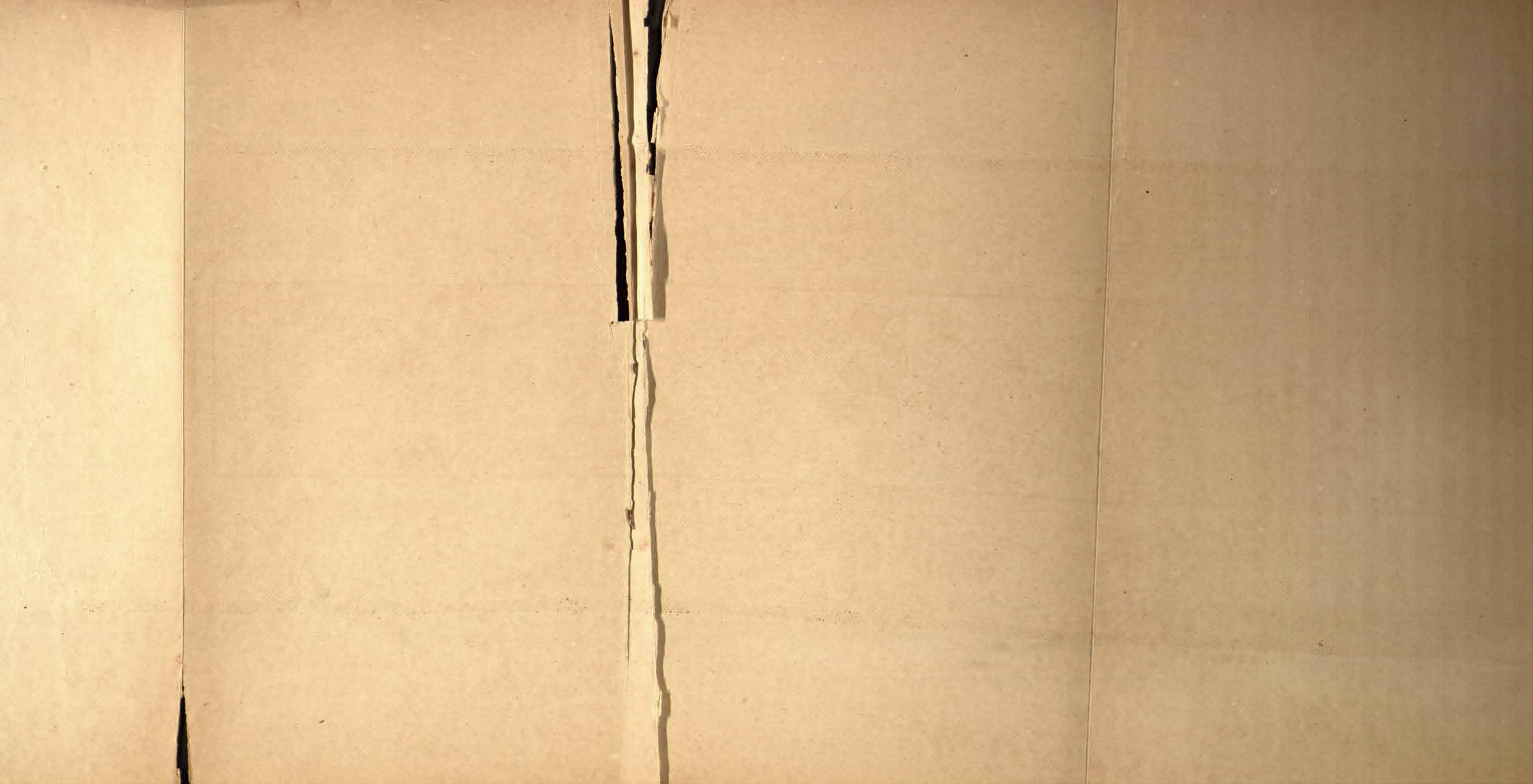
Apparently the Company, at the time of the delivery of the carpet to Bell in April, 1634, had already written to Surat for further details regarding its purchase; for on December 29 of that year, the then President (William Methwold) and his Council replied that that and the carpets for Sir John Wolstenholme had been provided by Rastell and that no particulars were known of the transaction. As no further mention is made of the matter, it may be presumed that the Company were satisfied that they had suffered no loss and that Bell had (as he stated) made payment to Rastell of the value of the carpet.

F.

¹ The carpet is really eight yards by two and a half.



THE GIRDLE'S CARPET.



A "CHINA DISH."

The porcelain dish here figured is one of the two remaining pieces [the other being a fruit-basket] purchased for the South Kensington [now Victoria and Albert] Museum in 1898, of a dessert service, decorated round the rim of the plates with open work, pierced between painted bands and lines of reds and gold, and in the centre with the blazon of the armorial bearings, in their proper colour [red] and metal [gold], of the late Honourable East India Company; and made some time in the 18th century for the use, as is believed, of the Company's President at Fort St. George,¹ Madras.

It is added to this record of the Company because my old friend, Mr. William Griggs, obsessed by the English love of evenness in all things, one of the deadliest banes of the English applied arts, would eke out the tale of these illustrations to the even number of fifty, instead of closing it at the odd number of forty-nine, as I would have done; not only for the sake of the good luck of odd numbers in general, but for the good luck in special alike of odd and even numbers that are the numbers of the planets and of the signs of the zodiac, or of these numbers added to or multiplied by themselves or by each other. Thus among the Hindus 7 and 14 and 49, and 19 and 84, are all lucky numbers: and again 9 [the number of the planets when the moon is counted as 3, "the triple Hecate"] and 18 and 81, and 108. The numbers 9, and 19, and 84, are of plenipotent auspiciousness; and the locution in Shakespeare [*M. for M.* I. 2], "nineteen zodiacs have gone round," that is "nineteen years have passed," used to express the highest praise of the quality of well-tempered armour to resist rust unscoured, would seem to be an allusion to the astrological associations of the number 19; for without doubt the common English saying "up to the nines," or "down to the nines," refers to the planetary number 9, the famous "*nava-ratna*" of the Hindus. The number 49, however, although lucky, has no particular prepotency attached to it by the Hindus, and so I yielded the point to Mr. Griggs. After all, even numbers stand for stability, and likewise for assent, and this illustration may well stand here in its place after the aforegone 49, as a double Amen!

But, considerations of theologised and mythologised astronomy, and of art in its applications to industry, apart, this "China dish" is of much interest, and of more pertinence than at first sight appears, in its connection, however haphazardly come about, with this reissue of Mr. Griggs' *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*.

¹ Fort St. George was so called, as Mr. W. Foster conjectures, because founded by Francis Day on St. George's Day [1640]. The patron saint of India is St. Thomas:—

"Whan Peter, Fader of the Faith,
At Domesday shall with him bring
Judeam . . . and Andrew with Achay,
And Thomas eke with his beyete
Of Ynde, and Paul the routes grete
Of sondry londes to present." Gower, V.

Fort George, Bombay, was named after King George III.

Pottery has had no one centre of origin; like weaving, it originated everywhere; and remains, or representations, of pottery, of argillaceous earth or "potters' clay," are to be found in "the Lake Dwellings" of "the Stone Age" in Europe; and milleniums upon milleniums later, among the earliest suggestions of human civilisation in ancientest Egypt and Chaldea [later Babylonia], and Assyria, and in ancient Greece, and in Etruria, and ancient Rome, and again in India—still ancient India,—and in China. These are all of unglazed earthenware, not even superheated to "hard [earthen] ware" as yet, unless possibly in China, about the 3rd century B.C. Although ornamented with incisions, as is still done in India, and embossments as in "Samian ware," or with paintings as in Greece [where these paintings were designed for the actual potter by artists of the eminence of Myron, the sculptor of the Discobolus or "Quoit-thrower," and the immortal Phidias, and Polycletus the architect], pottery was never enamelled in Europe, until the processes for glazing it were gradually elaborated among the Greeks of Egypt under the Ptolemies, or of Syria under the Cæsars of Byzantium. If those wonderful verses of the Apocryphal Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, xxxviii. 24-34, are correctly translated in the English "Revised Version," from the description given of the potter in the 30th verse:—"He will fashion the clay with his arm; And will bend its strength over his feet [under the wheel]; *He will apply his heart to finish the glazing*; And he will be wakeful to make clean the furnace;"—we would have to infer that the art of enamelling pottery was already in practice in the 2nd century B.C., under the patronage of the Ptolemies in Egypt. But it was from the Greek potters of Damascus that the Saracen Arabs [who derived all their artistic, scientific, and political culture from the Greeks] learned the beautiful art of enamelled pottery, and carried it into all the countries that fell in the swiftest succession to the far-sweeping swords—of "Ondanique," Damascan tempered to the sharpest edge—of Islam, "the Religion of Peace [in "Resignation" to the will of God]"! In the hands of the Saracens it culminated in the Ibero-Arabic pottery of Spain; and introduced by the Moors from Majorca into Italy, it there took the name of Majorica or Majolica, one of the most pleasing variants of which takes its denomination from Luca della Robbia; and introduced from Faenza into France, became known there as *Fayence*, and *faience*, and attained to its highest excellence in the wares of Bernard of Palissy.

Pottery of silicious earths, the "porcelain clay" of China, is quite distinct from earthenwares. The Chinese date their invention of it from—in the terms of our Calendar—the 3rd millenium B.C. It may undoubtedly be assigned to some time between B.C. 250 and A.D. 250, the period covered by the "Ajanta Cave Paintings," near Aurungabad in the Dakhan, Central India. But the great development of the manufacture of porcelain in China began in the 14th century A.D., while its regular export to Europe began in the 17th century A.D., when the direct trade between the East and the West, first opened up by Nebuchadnezzar in Babylonia, and Psammetichus I. in Egypt, and afterward closed by the conquests of the Saracens, and Mongols and Turks, was reopened in a systematic and comprehensive manner by the Honourable East India Company. Porcelain was known to the Saracens, but only as a most precious object of art, the noble Saladin having in 1171 imported forty pieces of it from China for presentation to one of the contemporary Sovereigns of Christendom. In 1481 Lorenzo dei Medici, "the Magnificent," received a porcelain vase as a high compliment from the then reigning Sultan of Egypt. Other items of the kind might be noted. And the Portuguese on occasion shipped "China" to Europe, and gave it the

End of Edinburgh also,—in brief, "made Britain India," and created the England of the Middle Classes; whose home-gathered Indian gold helped us to overthrow "Ajaccian Buonaparte," and still helps our commerce to maintain its supremacy in every land washed by this globe's "Seven Seas."

Already in 1609 Shakespeare knew "China," as appears in *Measure for Measure*, II. 11, where Pompey, speaking of Mistress Elbow's "longing for stewed prunes," quite inconsequently adds that the only two prunes to hand stood on "a fruit dish, a dish of some three pence; your honours have seen such dishes; they are not China dishes, but [notwithstanding] good dishes." By Pope's day "China" had become familiar everywhere in England, but was still prized as a valuable piece of property, judging by the hackneyed quotation [*Moral Essays*, Epistle II., line 268, A.D. 1755]:—

"And mistress of herself, tho' China fall."

Ben Jonson would appear to be the first English writer of fame to refer to "China" under the Portuguese denomination of "porcelain" [*Staple of News* (1625), II. iv.]:—

"In porc'lane dishes
There were some hope."

Dryden, who was Collector of Customs in the Port of London, 1683, and moreover a personal friend and admirer of Peter Motteux [*Epistles*, xii.] of the "Two Fans" in Leadenhall Street [see page vi. above], also mentions "porcelain" in the play of *Don Sebastian* [1690]:—

"This is the porcelain clay of human kind."

a quotation carrying one on to Byron's line in *Don Juan*, IV. 11:—

"The precious porcelain of humanity."

Porcelain was imitated in Europe, first in Italy, in the 16th century, under the patronage of the Medici, from designs said to have been prepared by pupils of Raffaello; and in complaisance with this tradition the known specimens of this fabrication, that are in fact a finer sort of Urbino majolica, pass by the name of Raffaello ware. It was in Dryden's day, the day also of John Bunyan, De Foe, and Swift, and of Steele and Addison, that Dr. Dwight founded the porcelain works at Fulham. The factory at St. Cloud was opened in 1695, that of Sevres in 1756.

Our "China dish" is of the 18th century, and subsequent to the final reconstruction of the English East India Companies as the United Company, commonly called The Honourable East India Company. From my own intimate acquaintance with such pieces of "China," I would date this "China dish" between 1750 and 1800—not earlier, not later. It is a relic of the infinite stores of armorial "China" designed in England and executed in China, and imported by the Honourable East India Company into England, all through that golden century of their trade with the East for the aggrandisement of the substantial and thoroughly comfortable new homes of the rising middle classes of England and Scotland. My paternal grandfather and great-grandfather were, in continuity, from the beginning of the reign of George III., the agents of the Honourable East India Company at Plymouth, and my great-grandfather was Mayor of Plymouth in 1796: and when I was a schoolboy at Plymouth, there were in the possession of my great-uncle, Naval Chaplain at Stonehouse, and Chaplain to Earl St. Germain, no less than sixteen sets of various "China" services, expressly designed for his father and brother, dinner services, dessert services, tea and coffee services, and bed-room services, of all of which the only piece that, so far as I know, is extant to this day, is a cracked teacup in my own possession. The fact is significant of the immense trade in porcelain carried on by the Honourable East

India Company throughout the 18th century; and the wide-spread destruction to which these vast accumulations of porcelain were exposed through the contempt bred of the ubiquitous presence and incessant use of them. It was an immense relief to turn from them to the windows of Cookworthy's long-fronted shop in George's Street. "Armorial-China," however, is still to be unearthed by the diligent collector, and since a senseless interest arose in this mongrel ware, the pieces now to be found are carefully guarded. There are several well-known examples of it in our public museums, bearing the arms of Beauclerk, Blair of Perthshire, Campbell of Lorne, Cranmer [now Cranmer-Byng], John Drummond, M.P., of Stanmore, Genor (?) of Lincolnshire, Hopkins, Leach, Lee of Kent, Lubbock, Nesbitt of Lismore, Palgrave, Smith of Hough in Cheshire, Vere of Hanworth, and Wythe of Norfolk, and of numerous other families. Yet my abridged and offhand random list of itself bears trenchant testimony to the amazing dimensions of the Company's trade,—if in porcelain alone,—at this date, and to the widespread ramifications of its unrivalled and propitious influences over the entire United Kingdom: and herein lies the emphatic significance and interest of this "China dish."

But "when boot is highest, bale is nighest"!—and thenceforward the exigencies of our system of Government by party led the Imperial Government, step by step, on to ever more usurpingly intermeddling in the affairs of the Indian Government, until, taking evil advantage of "the Mutiny of 1857," the opulent mercantile empire of the Honourable East India Company was finally sequestered, or, more accurately, held escheated to the Imperial Crown; and without composition, compromise, or compensation of any sort or kind, such as would have been awarded to a public-house keeper on the cancel of his license:—we simply "bilked the score": to the temporary detriment, not yet redeemed, of the Port of London, the impoverishment of the "East End" of London, and of South London from Southwark Bridge eastward, and the decay of the "Asia Minor" areas of Bayswater, and Bath, and Cheltenham, and Clifton, and Edinburgh [from George's Street westward]; every one of these cities, and areas of cities, having been materially maintained in their past prosperity, by the residential presence of retired Anglo-Indians, official and commercial, swollen in the case of the "East End" and the "South Side" of London by a veritable population of officials and subordinate employees of the Honourable East India Company, from whose numbers three regiments of "Royal East India Volunteers" were enlisted for the defence of London against the threatened invasion of the French under Buonaparte. And as for India!—every industrial interest there has been sacrificed to the Moloch of Manchester, the ingrate parasite of India; and every spiritual interest,—concentred in arts and literatures, and religions, the priceless heritage of three thousand years of the travails and yearnings, and anguishes and despairs of men of the subtlest sensitiveness of soul, and the loyalest constancy to their ideals,—delivered over to the tormentors of every "ringstrake speckle and spot" of sturdiest insular ineptitude, prejudice, pedantry, and embittering overbearance, imposed upon the country by our egotistical educational departments and emulous missionary societies; and every political interest subordinated to the party interests of its rulers [of whom it may be justly said that, untrammelled by such sordid considerations, they were capable, by the force of their unquestionable genius, and lofty character, to have approved to countless millions the profound truth of the passage in Cicero's *Republic*:—"In nothing else have the labours of a statesman a fuller participation in divineness than when devoted to the founding of new states, or the consolidation of states already founded,"] until to-day all India

seems, so far as its "English-educated classes" are concerned, to have become another immeasurable "East End" of London,¹ seething with the bitterness of blighted hopes and aspirations of our own inspiration, and degraded by outrages utterly alien to the nature of the peoples themselves, than whom none, the world over, are easier to be ruled, or readier to be made contented and happy, if ruled with sympathy and strength. Indeed, only fools can fail in winning their loyalty, their devotion, and their absolute affections.

To the passage above quoted, Cicero adds elsewhere, that there is an especially reserved precinct in Heaven for the statesmen who have contributed to the happiness of the countries governed by them, where they themselves may rest in sempiternal happiness:—"ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruuntur." Our own obvious want of success in conciliating the English-educated natives of India with "the British Raj," reminds one that Quevedo, as rendered in Cowper's *Table Talk*, tells a less charitable tale of the future state of departed "captains of mankind."

Here I begin to suspect myself of using this "China dish" to cast it, after the fashion of the Discobolus of Myron,—mentioned above,—in the face of the detractors and despoilers of the Honourable East India Company, the *JEHAN KUMPANI*, meaning the "World [over-shadowing] Company," of the people of India, whence our Hobson-Jobsonism of "JOHN COMPANY": but in truth my one dominating thought has been to render, in devoutest gratitude, a last act of homage to the memory—

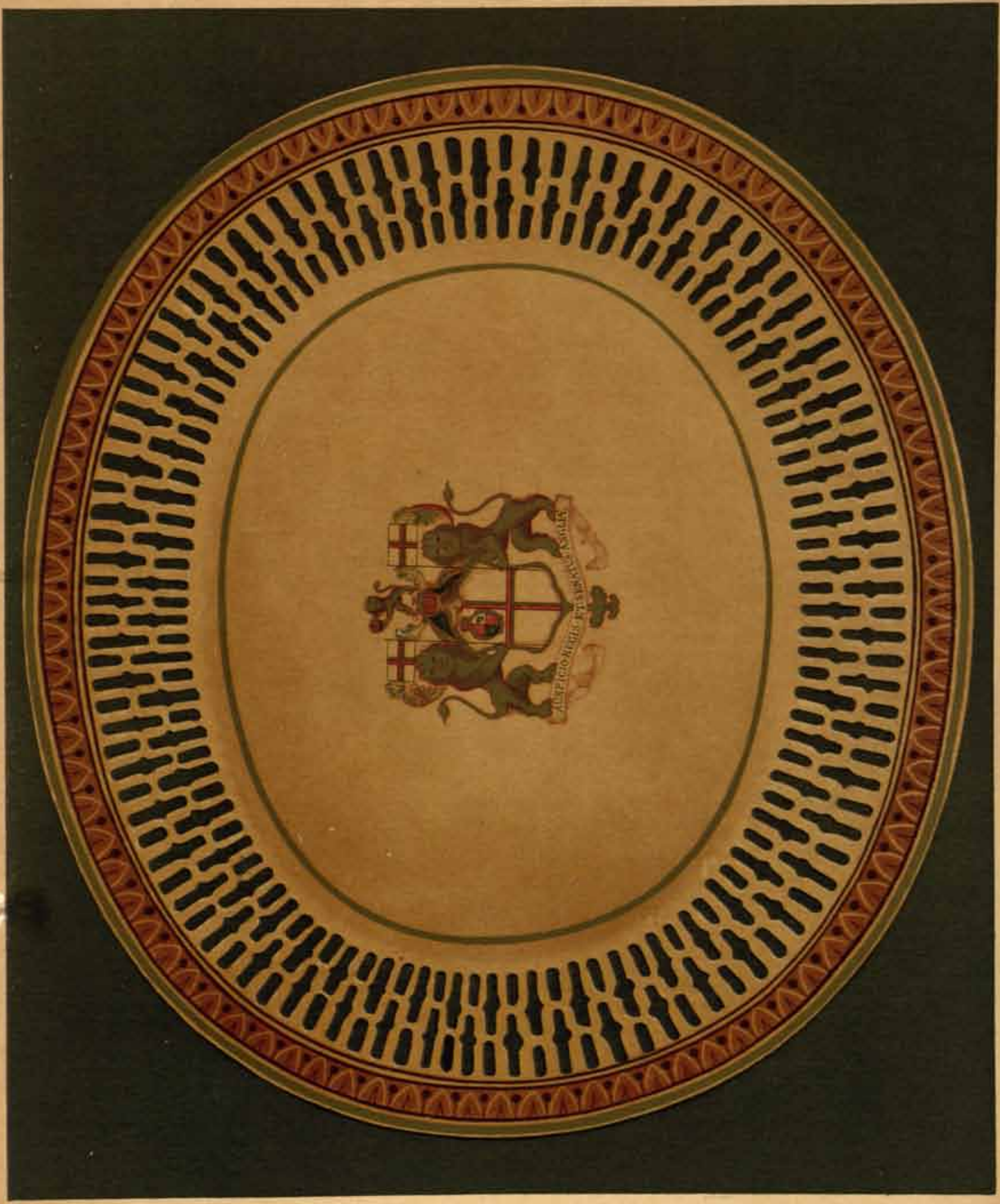
"For now the sons of Oineus are no more,
The glories of the mighty race are fled,
Oineus himself and Meleager dead!"²—

of the greatest and most beneficent trading organisation of any age or nation; that in the course of 200 years from the reign of Queen Elizabeth filled all the ports of the Indian Ocean with the exultant tumult of their trafficks; and made London the busiest, the most strenuous, and the most flourishing of the marts of commercial and mercantile enterprise among mankind; and the name of London, in its municipal Governance and Estate of the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs, the Court of Aldermen, and the Common Council, and in the wealth, charity, and hospitality of its City Companies, renowned beyond all other renown throughout Asia; and, more than any other material or moral influence within the United Kingdom, served to exalt the dominion, might, and majesty of the British Empire to the unparalleled pitch of glory and praise reached by it in the fateful reign of the Queen-Empress Victoria.

B.

¹ In the grant of Bombay to the Company [1668] it was provided that the island should "be houlden . . . as of the mannour of East Greenwich."

² "Time hath his revolutions; there must be a period and an end to all things, an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene. And why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? where is Mowbray? where is Mortimer? Nay, which is more and most of all, where is Plantagenet?"—Sir Ranulfe [*i.e.* Randolph] Crewe, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1625.



A "CHINA-DISH," WITH THE COMPANY'S ARMS

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